

THE TEN PROMISED PARADISE: A STUDY OF THE ORIGIN AND FORMATION OF A SUNNI DOCTRINE THROUGH *ISNĀD-CUM-MATN* ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

The concept that a certain nine or ten Companions, assured of Paradise in a Prophet ḥadīth, are superior to the rest of the Companions is among the most noteworthy Sunni beliefs. However, though well represented in the works of the ninth-century ḥadīth scholars, this concept has yet to receive adequate discussion in current scholarship. This article investigates its origin by examining various versions of the ‘Ten Promised Paradise’ ḥadīth through *isnād-cum-matn* analysis. The analysis suggests that this ḥadīth, first emerging before 700, was widely circulated in Iraqi cities (above all, Kufa), and Madina before the mid-eighth century. Through examination of the socio-political milieu in which the earliest known disseminators of the ḥadīth lived, this article argues that the concept came into circulation after the second *fitna*. This ḥadīth’s ascendancy emerged (in Kufa) from protest against *both* the Umayyad hostility towards the ‘Alids and their partisans *and* proto-Shi‘i movements of all kinds (the Ghulāt and Hāshimīs); its propogation in Madina was most likely prompted by rivalry between the caliphate and the Hijazi elite. The article goes on to explore how the ethos of this ḥadīth became an early Sunni doctrine. A close examination of the transmitters following the earliest identifiable disseminators of various versions of the ḥadīth reveals that many transmitters played a prominent role in shaping the communal identity of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*. They took part in formulating their historical memory, developing ḥadīth criticism and establishing *sunna* either by articulating the ‘orthodoxy’ or by combating the so-called ‘innovators’.

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One of the defining characteristics of Sunnism is its reverence for a multitude of Companions (*al-ṣaḥāba*), loosely defined as any Muslims who ever saw or met the Prophet.¹ With this comes the concept of the probity of the Companions (*ʿadālat al-ṣaḥāba*), which, first explicitly formulated by Ibn Abī Ḥatīm (d. 327/938) in *al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*, asserts the reliability of all Companions as carriers of the Prophetic legacy.² The quantity and quality of the Companions thus serve as one of the most salient markers distinguishing Sunnis from other denominations.³ While the Companions are considered equally trustworthy, their virtues are by no means equal. Depending on their precedence in Islam and their contributions to its cause, the Companions are ranked in a hierarchy of merits (*faḍāʾil* or *manāqib*),⁴ as illustratively summarized by ʿAbd al-Qāhīr al-Baghḍādī (d. 429/1037-8) in his *al-Farq bayna al-firaq*:

¹ For al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) definition of Companionship, see his *taʿlīq* under the *bāb faḍāʾil aṣḥāb al-nabī* in the *kitāb faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba* in *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* (eds. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb and Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī; Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Salafiyya, 4 vols., 1980), iii. 5. See also Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba* (eds. ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd and ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʾawwiḍ. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 8 vols., 1995), i. 158. The view of Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib (d. 94/712–13?) that Companionship (*al-ṣuḥba*) requires at least one year of company or participation in one military campaign has been quoted by later sources, including Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (577–643/1181–1245); this suggests room for discussion, even questioning, of this loose definition: Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Maʾrifat anwāʿ ʿilm al-ḥadīth* (eds. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Hamīm and Māhīr Yāsīn al-Faḥl; Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2002), 396. For the English translation of this ḥadīth handbook, see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *An Introduction to the Science of the Ḥadīth (Kitāb Maʾrifat anwāʿ ʿilm al-ḥadīth)* (transl. Eerik Dickinson; Reading: Garnet, 2006), 211–12. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fī maʾrifat al-ṣaḥāba* (eds. ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʾawwiḍ and ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd; Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 8 vols., 1994–96), i. 119. Early authorities, such as al-ʿIjlī (d. 261/874–5?), adopted a more strict definition of Companionship: ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Bastawī, ʿal-Muqaddimaʾ in *Maʾrifat al-thiqāt*, by al-ʿIjlī (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Madanī, 2 vols., n.d.), i. 96. For a detailed discussion, see Fuad Jabali, *The Companions of the Prophet: A Study of Geographical Distribution and Political Alignments* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 49–67.

² Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl* (Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadītha li-l-Tibāʿa wa-l-Nashr, 11 vols., 1952), i. 7; Amr Osman, ʿAdālat al-ṣaḥāba: the construction of a religious doctrine, *Arabica*, 60 (2013): 272–305 (esp. n.7, at 274–5).

³ Scott C. Lucas, *Constructive Critics, Ḥadīth Literature, and the Articulation of Sunnī Islam: The Legacy of the Generation of Ibn Saʿd, Ibn Maʿīn, and Ibn Hanbal* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 239–55; Jabali, *The Companions*, 67–83.

⁴ Asma Afsaruddin, *Excellence and Precedence: Medieval Islamic Discourse on Legitimate Leadership* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 36–51. The two terms, *manāqib* and *faḍāʾil*, are used synonymously, although the former seems to occur more in the

The *ahl al-sunna* are universally agreed that the most excellent of men after the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him, are Abū Bakr, then ‘Umar, then ‘Uthmān, then ‘Alī, then the rest of the ten [sc. the ten Companions assured of Paradise by the Prophet], then the rest of the people of Badr, then the rest of the people of Uḥud, then the rest of the people of the allegiance (*ahl al-bay‘a*), then the rest of the Companions.⁵

This hierarchical trajectory, with the first four caliphs on top followed by the rest of the nine or ten Companions promised Paradise—Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ (= Sa’d b. Mālik; d. 55/674-5?), ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf (d. 32/652-3), al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām (d. 36/656), Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubaydallāh (d. 36/656), Sa’īd b. Zayd (d. 50/670-1?) and/or Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 18/639-40)⁶—came to be accepted by the *ahl al-ḥadīth* in the course of the ninth century. A number of *musnads* compiled in the ninth and tenth centuries are framed by this structure.⁷ The chapters on the *faḍā’il al-ṣaḥāba* in the ḥadīth works arranged by topic also fully or partially adhere to this hierarchy.⁸ It permeates works in other genres such as *riḡāl*

context of polemics; see Asma Afsaruddin, ‘In praise of the Caliphs: re-creating history from the *manāqib* literature’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 31/3 (1999): 329–350 (at 329).

⁵ Quoted and translated by Afsaruddin, *Excellence*, 18.

⁶ In most versions of the ḥadīth related to this concept, the Prophet is counted among the ten promised Paradise; thus, strictly speaking, there are only nine Companions. Only in one version is Abū ‘Ubayda included as the tenth. In a rarer case, ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd (d. 32/652-3) is counted among the Ten; see Section 1. A variant of this ḥadīth mentions only seven promised Paradise: the Prophet, the first four caliphs, al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥa; see: G. H. A. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 452. I owe this reference to one of the anonymous reviewers.

⁷ Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad Abī Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī* (ed. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī; Giza: Dār Hajr, 4 vols., 1999), i. 524; ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad al-Imām Abī Bakr ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Qurashī al-Ḥumaydī* (ed. Husayn Salīm Asad; Damascus: Dār al-Saqā, 2 vols., 1996), i. 148–98; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* (ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Atā; Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 12 vols., 2008), i. 557. Note that al-Ḥumaydī (d. 219/834) does not include a section on Ṭalḥa’s ḥadīth. For the organization of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal’s *Musnad*, see Martin Hartmann, ‘Die Tradenten erster Schicht im *Musnad* des Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal’, *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*, 9 (1906): 148–76. I owe this reference to one of the anonymous reviewers.

⁸ Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849) does not mention Sa’īd b. Zayd’s *faḍā’il*, while Muslim (d. 261/875) does not have sections on those of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf and Sa’īd b. Zayd: Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaḥ* (ed. Abū Muḥammad Usāma b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad; Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadītha li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Nashr, 15 vols., 2008), xiii. 598; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ* (ed. Muḥammad Fu‘ād

works specialized in knowledge about the Companions, for example *Tasmiyat man ruwiya ‘anhu min awlād al-‘ashara wa-ghayrihim min aṣṣahāb Rasūl Allāh* by ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī (161–234/778–849), *Tārīkh al-ṣahāba* by Ibn Hibbān (d. 354/965) and *Hilyat al-awliyā’* and *Ma‘rifat al-ṣahāba* by Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038).⁹ The belief in the privileged status of these Companions is also listed as a tenet in early dogmatic writings. In the creed by Abū Zur‘a al-Rāzī (d. 264/878?) and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 277/890), it is stated, ‘There are ten persons whom God’s Messenger called the people of Paradise and testified that they would be there. It is his true statement. One must have mercy upon all Muḥammad’s Companions and abstain from [dealing with controversies] which took place among them’.¹⁰ This is also mentioned by Abū Ja‘far al-Taḥāwī (239–321/853–933?) in his *Aqīda*, and listed as one of the creeds in *al-Ibāna ‘an uṣūl al-diyāna*, attributed to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī (260–324/874–936?), and in *Sharḥ al-sunna*, attributed to al-Barbahārī (253–329/867–941?).¹¹

‘Abd al-Bāqī; Cairo: Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 5 vols., 1991), 1854–1881; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* (ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf; Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 2 vols., 1998), i. 108–141; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-kabīr* (ed. Bashshār ‘A. Ma‘rūf; Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 6 vols., 1996), vi. 37–107. See also Lucas, *Constructive Critics*, 255–82.

⁹ For ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī’s work, see Ikrāmallāh Imdād al-Ḥaqq, *al-Imām ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī wa-minhajuhu fī naqd al-rijāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyya, n.d.), 266–7. For the two others, see Scott C. Lucas, ‘al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī and the Companions of the Prophet: an original Sunnī voice in the Shī‘ī century’ in Maurice A. Pomerantz and Aram A. Shahin (eds.), *The Heritage of Arabo-Islamic Learning* (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 236–49, at 240. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ also follows this structure in his representation of the ‘best’ Companions: Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ulūm al-ḥadīth* (ed. Nūr al-Dīn ‘Itr; Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1986), 299.

¹⁰ Quoted and translated in Binyamin Abrahamov, *Islamic Theology: Traditionalism and Rationalism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 54.

¹¹ al-Taḥāwī, *al-Aqīda al-Taḥāwiyya* (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1977), 14; Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī, *al-Ibāna ‘an uṣūl al-diyāna* (ed. Šāliḥ b. Muqbil al-‘Uṣaymī; Riyadh: Madār al-Muslim, 2011), 242–3; Ibn Abī Ya‘lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* (ed. Muḥammad H. al-Fiḳī; Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, 2 vols., 1952), ii. 21. For the authorship of the former, see Mohammad Javad Anvari and Matthew Melvin-Koushki (transl.), art. ‘al-Ash‘arī’ in *Encyclopaedia Islamica*. For the ascription of the latter, see Christopher Melchert, art. ‘al-Barbahārī’ in *EI*³; Maher Jarrar, art. ‘Ghulām Khalīl’ in *EI*³; Christopher Melchert, ‘The Ḥanābila and the early Sufis’, *Arabica*, 48/3 (2001): 352–67, at 361–2. For other examples, see also Saud Al-Sarhan, ‘The creeds of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal’ in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Books and Bibliophiles: Studies in Honour of Paul Auchterlonie on the Bio-Bibliography of the Muslim World* (Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2014), 29–44.

This Sunni doctrine also entails a historical view of the Companions involved in the *shūrā* and first civil war, specifically, ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr.¹² That is, their conduct and decisions, right or wrong, do not constitute grave sins that deprive them of their faith and thus their admission to Paradise, *contra* Shi‘ī, Mu‘tazilī or Khārijī claims.¹³ Although this trajectory may not have always been interpreted to justify ‘Alī’s legitimacy vis-à-vis his opponents, as ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī posits,¹⁴ it at least confirms the rectitude of all the protagonists involved in the first *fitna* and forms a theoretical basis for discouraging Muslims from discussing the controversies and disputes among the Companions, as exhorted by proto-Sunni scholars.¹⁵ In other words, this attitude towards the Companions embodies a latitudinarianism that allows different segments, particularly ‘soft’ Shi‘ī¹⁶ or ‘Uthmānī (those who only recognize the first three caliphs as legitimate rulers),¹⁷ to forge a communal identity.

Despite its centrality, the historical development of this Sunni doctrine is yet to be studied. The only study on the subject is Yazigi’s article, which focuses on the early and later use of this concept by the Sunni

¹² On the *shūrā* and different sectarian interpretations of the event, see Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 71–7; Maya R. Yazigi, ‘The politics of kinship: the family of Abū Bakr during the first century of Islam’ (Ph.D. diss., Los Angeles, University of California, 2001), 59–63. For the discrepancies in the sources over the members of the *shūrā*, see Patricia Crone, ‘*Shūrā* as an elective institution’, *Quaderni di studi arabi*, 19 (2001): 3–39, at 5.

¹³ See n. 3.

¹⁴ ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna al-firaq* (ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd; Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Aṣriyya, 1995), 350–1.

¹⁵ al-Nāshī’ al-Akbar, *Frühe mu‘tazilitische Häresiographie; zwei Werke des Nāshī’ al-Akbar (gest. 293 H.) (Masā’il al-imāma)*; ed. Josef van Ess; Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1971), 67; Jabali, *The Companions*, 75–7.

¹⁶ The term ‘soft Shi‘is’ is used by Crone to refer to those who see ‘Alī rather than ‘Uthmān as caliph or hold ‘Alī to be superior to ‘Uthmān, but, in general, accept the legitimacy of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar’s rule. This perspective is essentially close to the Batrī Zaydī notion of leadership. See Patricia Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 72, 99–100; al-Nawbakhtī and al-Qummī, *Kitāb Firaq al-shī’a* (ed. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Hifnī; Cairo: Dār al-Rashād, 1992), 71–2. Yet, van Ess suggests that the difference between Batrīs and soft Shi‘is lies in the latter’s adherence to Hārūn b. Sa‘d al-Ijlī; see Josef van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra: A History of Religious Thought in Early Islam* (transl. John O’Kane; Leiden: Brill, 5 vols., 2017), i. 290–2. Another group who very likely overlapped with soft Shi‘is is those whom van Ess describes (*ibid*, 270–4) as ‘Shi‘itizing traditionists’.

¹⁷ Patricia Crone, art. ‘Uthmāniyya’, *El*².

community to counter the increasing Shi'i political and religious threats, without investigating the origin of the ḥadīth associated with it.¹⁸ Discussion has also been devoted to the formation of a relevant tenet—the four-caliph thesis. According to Crone and Madelung, the majority of Muslims in the first two centuries of Islam were 'Uthmānīs.¹⁹ In the course of the ninth and tenth centuries, the *ahl al-ḥadīth* in Iraq gradually came to agree upon the concept of the four rightly guided caliphs, with 'Alī recognized as one of them.²⁰ The promotion of 'Alī to the rank of rightly guided caliph is often attributed to a few eminent scholars, e.g. al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820) and Aḥmad b. Ḥanabl (d. 241/855), who, in doing so, succeeded in attracting soft Shi'is, including early Batrī Zaydīs, to the proto-Sunni fold.²¹ Yet, a recent study shows that collective efforts on the part of early *ahl al-ḥadīth* before these two eponyms of Sunni schools of law, especially Basran and Kufan ḥadīth transmitters, can better explain the emergence of this Sunni consensus that enshrines the status of the first four caliphs.²² While these studies are useful to understand how a certain consensus emerged in the proto-Sunni community, the extension of this privileged status to five or six other Companions has not received adequate attention. Afsaruddin highlights the importance of the Murjī'īs' decision to postpone judgment regarding the status of 'Uthmān and 'Alī and their

¹⁸ Maya Yazigi, 'Ḥadīth al-'ashara or the political uses of a tradition', *Studia Islamica*, 86 (1997): 159–67.

¹⁹ Crone, *Medieval*, 125–35; Wilferd Madelung, art. 'Imāma', *EI*². See also Tilman Nagel, *Rechtleitung und Kalifat: Versuch über eine Grundfrage der islamischen Geschichte* (Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität, 1975), 225–6.

²⁰ While Crone suggests that the four-caliph thesis was conceived as a compromise to bring together different elements of the proto-Sunni community in the course of the ninth century, she reiterates that this historical process remains in need of further study: Crone, *Medieval*, 135, 219, 232. It should be noted that even after the four-caliph thesis emerged, proto-Sunni scholars did not always agree on whether 'Uthmān was more virtuous than 'Alī; see Tobias Andersson, *Early Sunni Historiography: A Study of the Tārīkh of Khalīfa b. Khayyāt* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 83–5; Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *Religion and Politics under the Early 'Abbāsids: The Emergence of the Proto-Sunni Elite* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 50–4.

²¹ Wilferd Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim Ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965), 223–8; Asma Afsaruddin, *Excellence*, 18. The methods and efforts of ninth-century ḥadīth compilers in transforming and elevating 'Alī's image are discussed by Nebil Husayn, 'The rehabilitation of 'Alī in Sunni ḥadīth and historiography', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 29/4 (2019): 565–83.

²² I-Wen Su, 'The early Shi'i Kufan traditionists' perspective on the rightly guided Caliphs', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 141/1 (2021): 27–48.

lenient criterion of belief, in ‘shaping the inclusive doctrinal position of the majoritarian Sunni Muslim community’, which ‘strove to contain dissension as much as possible in order to preserve the unity of the Muslim community’.²³ While it is not implausible that Murji’ī theological views—though much opposed by some proto-Sunnis, above all, the *ahl al-ḥadīth*—did influence the formation of Sunni doctrines, it is far from clear how the early Murji’ī hesitancy over whether ‘Uthmān or ‘Alī forfeited their faith actually informed Sunni affirmation not only of their faith but also of the moral uprightness of those involved in the first *fitna*. Despite the apparent conceptual compatibility, there does not seem to be any direct evidence to support the *ahl al-ḥadīth*’s appropriation of Murji’ī ideas regarding these other Companions. Crone rightly points out the nuances:

It is not known when or where it was first proposed that one should recognize both ‘Uthmān *and* ‘Alī as rightly guided caliphs, and accept that all the Companions who had followed them had been rightly guided too, but it was in the course of the ninth century that the four-caliphs thesis possibly spread in Iraq. As for how one could possibly remain loyal to all the participants in a mortal conflict, the answer was that one suspends judgment on the rights and wrongs of it, not in the sense that one should neither affiliate to nor dissociate from the participants as the early Murji’ites said, but rather in the sense that one should affiliate to all of them, on the grounds that it was not for later generations to sit in judgment on people so favoured by God as the Companions.²⁴

This article investigates the origin of the concept of the ten Companions promised Paradise by examining various versions of the Ten Promised Paradise (hereafter, TPP) ḥadīth through *isnād-cum-matn* analysis. *Isnād-cum-matn* analysis studies the individual lines of transmission of a ḥadīth ascribed to a single transmitter in order to assess the authenticity of that ascription and then to reconstruct, partially or fully, that transmitter’s corpus.²⁵ While it is debatable whether this approach can trace a ḥadīth back to the generation of the Companions, recent

²³ Asma Afsaruddin, *The First Muslims: History and Memory* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2008), 56–7. Before Afsaruddin, W. Montgomery Watt also recognized the Murji’ī contribution to Sunni doctrines: *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), 128. I owe this reference to one of the anonymous reviewers.

²⁴ Crone, *Medieval*, 135.

²⁵ Andreas Görke and Gregor Schoeler, ‘Reconstructing the earliest *sīra* texts: the *Hiğra* in the corpus of ‘Urwa Ibn al-Zubayr’, *Der Islam*, 82 (2005): 209–20 (esp. 211–13).

studies have demonstrated that some ḥadīths were faithfully transmitted as early as the beginning of the eighth century.²⁶ It is through this recent deduction that *isnād-cum-matn* analysis, as applied in this article, identifies the *terminus a quo* of the TPP ḥadīth. The analysis suggests that the TPP ḥadīth, first emerging before 700, became widely circulated in Iraqi cities (above all Kufa) and Madina before the mid-eighth century. This ḥadīth, as here argued, in all likelihood came into being or into circulation after the second *fitna*, arising out of protest against *both* the Umayyad hostility towards the ‘Alids and their partisans *and* proto-Shī‘i movements of all kinds (the Ghulāt and Hāshimīs), which gradually became fully fledged after the Marwānids came to power. In addition to identifying when and where the ḥadīth endorsing the moral rectitude of these Companions emerged, this article will also explore how the ethos of the ḥadīth became an early Sunni doctrine. A close examination of the transmitters after the originators or earliest identifiable disseminators of the various versions of the TPP ḥadīth reveals that many (but not all) transmitters involved in its transmission also played a prominent role in shaping the communal identity of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*. They took part in formulating their historical memory, developing ḥadīth criticism and establishing *sunna* by either articulating ‘orthodoxy’ or combating the so-called ‘innovators’. Because of their centrality to the development of the science of ḥadīth and the early Sunni community, the concept of the privileged status of the Companions came to be accepted as a standard position of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* by their students and subsequent generations.

²⁶ Görke and Schoeler use this approach to investigate whether a particular ḥadīth was circulated in the seventh century, without making a claim (as it is sometimes misunderstood to be doing) to its existence in the first Muslim generation; see for example Stephen J. Shoemaker in ‘In search of ‘Urwa’s Sira: some methodological issues in the quest for “authenticity” in the life of Muḥammad’, *Der Islam*, 85/2 (2011): 257–344. See the response to Shoemaker’s critiques: Andreas Görke, Harald Motzki, and Gregor Schoeler, ‘First century sources for the life of Muḥammad? A debate’, *Der Islam*, 89/1 (2012): 2–59. See also Melchert’s criticism of the limit of *isnād-cum-matn* analysis in the study of early Islamic law: Christopher Melchert, ‘The early history of Islamic Law’ in Herbert Berg (ed.), *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 293–324, at 302–4. For an overview of the scholarly debate on the dating of the ḥadīth corpus, see Harald Motzki, ‘Dating Muslim traditions: a survey’, *Arabica*, 52/2 (2005): 204–53. See also Pavel Pavlovitch, ‘Early development of the tradition of the self-confessed adulterer in Islam. An *isnād* and *matn* analysis’, *Al-Qanṭara*, 31/2 (2010): 371–410, at 375–8; Najam Haider, *The Origin of the Shī‘a: Identity, Ritual, and Sacred Place in Eighth-Century Kūfa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 24–54.

As the *isnāds* of the TPP ḥadīth ramify in a complex manner, a note on the sources used in the analysis of its transmission and my reference to them is in order. Whenever a ḥadīth collection is cited in a footnote, the ḥadīth number, if available, is given instead of volume and page numbers. As the analysis below requires identification of specific chains of transmission in the discussion, monograms standing for the ḥadīth compilers and/or the titles of their works and the ḥadīth numbers, or volume/page numbers, are used here for clarification:

AD—*Sunan* by Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889)²⁷

ADT—*Musnad* by Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 204/819?)²⁸

AH —*Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba*, attributed to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855)²⁹

AY—*Musnad* by Abū Ya'la al-Mawṣilī (d. 307/919)³⁰

BAGH—*Sharḥ al-sunna* by al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122)³¹

HN—*al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014)³²

IAA—*Kitāb al-Sunna* by Ibn Abī 'Āṣim (d. 287/900)³³

IAAM—*Kitāb al-Āḥād wa-l-mathānī* by Ibn Abī 'Āṣim³⁴

²⁷ Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* (eds. Shu'ayb al-Arnā'ūt and Muḥammad Kāmil Qara Balalī; Beirut: Dār al-Risāla al-'Ālamiyya, 7 vols., 2009).

²⁸ The edition used for my analysis is cited in n. 7.

²⁹ The *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba* cannot be considered a *syntagma* by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal because of the interpolations by his son, 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad (213–290/828–903), and those of the latter's student Abū Bakr al-Qaṭī'ī (d. 368/978–9). That is, the structure and form of the manuscript of this work cannot possibly have been penned by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; see Gregor Schoeler, *The Oral and the Written in Early Islam* (ed. James E. Montgomery, transl. Uwe Vagelpohl; London: Routledge, 2006), 46; Waṣī Allāh M. 'Abbās, 'Al-Faṣl al-Rābi' in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (attri.), *Kitāb Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba* (Makka: Markaz al-Baḥth al-'Ilmī wa-l-Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1983), 41.

³⁰ Abū Ya'la al-Mawṣilī, *Musnad Abī Ya'la al-Mawṣilī* (ed. Ḥusayn S. Asad; Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa al-'Arabiyya, 1992).

³¹ al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-sunna* (eds. Shu'ayb al-Arnā'ūt and Muḥammad Zuhayr al-Shāwīsh; Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 2nd edn., 16 vols., 1983).

³² al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (Cairo: Dār al-Haramayn, 5 vols., 1997).

³³ Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *Kitāb al-Sunna* (ed. Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī; Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1–2 vols., 1980).

³⁴ Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *al-Āḥād wa-l-mathānī* (ed. Bāsim Fayṣal Aḥmad al-Jawābira; Riyadh: Dār al-Rāya, 6 vols., 1991).

IAS—*al-Muṣannaf* by Ibn Abī Shayba³⁵

IḤ—*Ṣaḥīḥ* by Ibn Ḥibbān³⁶

IM—*Sunan* by Ibn Māja (273/887)³⁷

IS—*Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* by Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845)³⁸

NAS—*Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba* by al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915?)³⁹

ST—*Tafsīr* by Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778)⁴⁰

TIR—*al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr* by al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892)⁴¹

USD—*Usd al-ghāba fī maʾrifat al-ṣaḥāba* by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233)⁴²

For example, ADT 233 represents ḥadīth 233 in Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī's *Musnad*, while USD ii. 477 indicates page 477 in the second volume of Ibn al-Athīr's *Usd al-ghāba*. With these notes in mind, let us turn to Section 1.

1. ANALYSIS OF THE TEN PROMISED PARADISE ḤADĪTH

The chains of transmission of the TPP ḥadīth, which is attributed to Saʿīd b. Zayd or, in fewer cases, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, consist of four bundles and five single strands (*AH* 86, *IS* iii.356, *AY* 970 and *IAA* 1432), as shown in [Figure 1](#). The bundles are named after the points of convergence of the *isnāds* (in bold): Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā (d. btw. 141–150/758–767), al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ (d. between 111–120/729–738), Hilāl b. Yasāf (or Yisāf, d. between 91–100/709–718)⁴³ and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd (d. 137/754-5). As the following analysis will show, these transmitters may have been responsible for certain

³⁵ The edition I used for my analysis is cited in n. 8.

³⁶ ʿAlī b. Balbān al-Fārisī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān bi-tartīb Ibn Balbān* (ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūt; Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 18 vols., 1993).

³⁷ The edition I used is cited in n. 8.

³⁸ Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* (ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar; Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 11 vols., 2001).

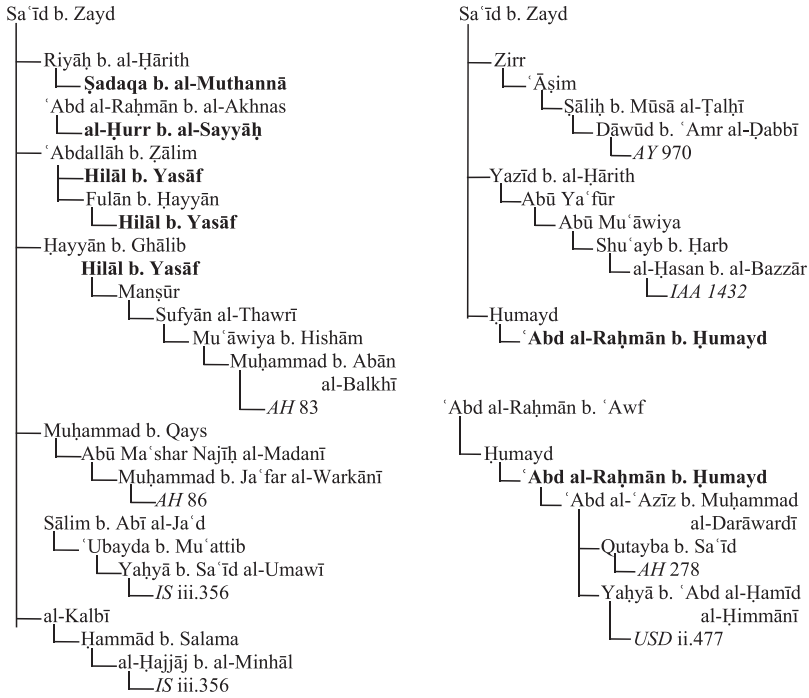
³⁹ al-Nasāʾī, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1984).

⁴⁰ Sufyān al-Thawrī, *Tafsīr Sufyān al-Thawrī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1983). This edition is based on the Indian edition by ʿArshī.

⁴¹ The edition I used is cited in n. 8.

⁴² The edition I used is cited in n. 1.

⁴³ For their death dates, see Section 2.

Figure 1: The *isnāds* of the TPP ḥadīth

narrative elements found in different versions of the TPP ḥadīth. The first three were Kufans, while the last was a Madinan descendant of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, who died in Iraq, according to Ibn Ḥibbān.⁴⁴ The transmitters after the three Kufans were predominantly Kufan and Basran. Those who took the TPP ḥadīth from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd were all Madinans. The geographical spread of the TPP ḥadīth after these four brings significant insights into the formative context of this Sunni doctrine and how it came to be crucial to the Sunni perspective.

Although the *isnād* AH 83, starting with Ḥayyān b. Ghālib after Sa'īd b. Zayd, looks like a single strand ('dive'⁴⁵), it overlaps with the *isnāds* in Hilāl b. Yasāf's bundle and thus will be discussed alongside it (merged with *isnāds* derived from Fulān b. Ḥayyān in Figure 2). Two *isnāds* at the

⁴⁴ Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Thiqaṭ* (ed. Muḥammad 'A. Khān; Hyderabad: Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyya, 10 vols., 1973), vii. 64. For these four, see Section 2.

⁴⁵ G. H. A. Juynboll, 'Nāfi', the *mawla* of Ibn 'Umar, and his Position in Muslim Ḥadīth Literature', *Der Islam* 70 (1993): 207–244 (see 213).

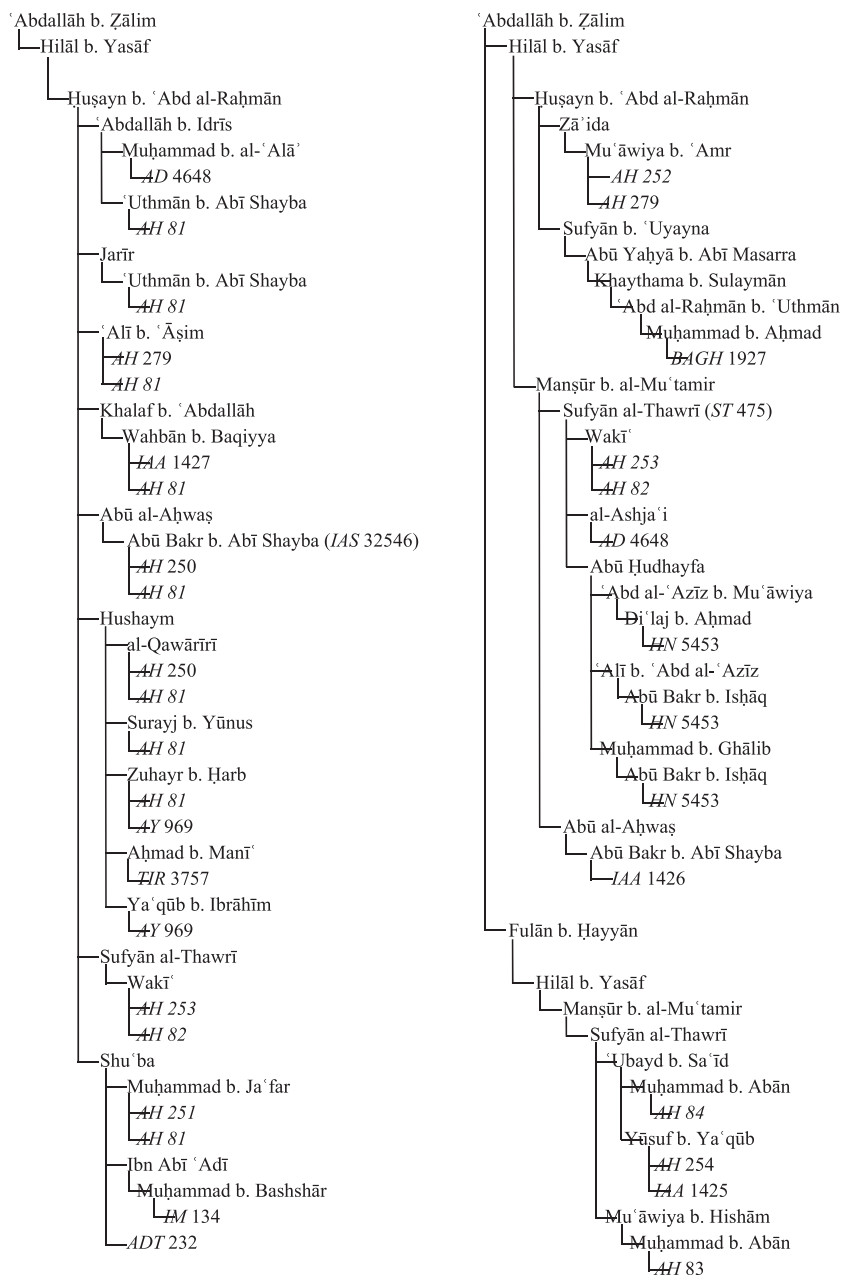


Figure 2: Hilāl b. Yasāf's bundle

bottom of [Figure 1](#), *AH* 278 and *USD* ii. 477, identify ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf as their ultimate source, but they converge on ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd in a bundle derived from Sa‘īd b. Zayd and their *matns* share an important characteristic found in its *riwāyas* (narrations), *viz.* the inclusion of Abū ‘Ubayda in the Paradisal list. Thus, these ḥadīth will be analysed together. We will closely examine the *isnāds* and *matns* of the four bundles in order to establish to whom we can attribute the shared elements of each and to determine who may have been responsible for significant variations (additions, omissions or changes in narrative order) in the process of transmission. The five single strands cannot be studied through *isnād-cum-matn* analysis and thus will be excluded in the following discussion. A number of the *isnāds*, e.g. *TIR* 3757 (in [Figure 3](#)),⁴⁶ incorporated in the analysis below do not quote the full *matns*, because the compilers considered them identical or similar to the previously cited ḥadīth with a different *isnād*. It is impossible to reconstruct these *matns* in such cases. Thus, this kind of *isnāds* are indicated by the italicization of the ḥadīth numbers in the monograms and will not be analysed below. Its inclusion serves to illustrate the extent to which the given version of the TPP ḥadīth has been disseminated.

1.1. *Hilāl b. Yasāf’s bundle*

As shown in [Figure 2](#), the *isnāds* all converge on Hilāl b. Yasāf, although four are intermediated by Ḥayyān b. Ghālib (*AH* 83) and Fulān b. Ḥayyān (*AH* 84, *AH* 254 and *IAA* 1425). These four *riwāyas* further overlap with a subset derived from Manṣūr b. al-Mu‘tamir (d. 132/750), one of Hilāl b. Yasāf’s students. Hence, they will be discussed together before the subset derived from Ḥuṣayn b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 136/753-4).⁴⁷

Before we start, it should be kept in mind that *AH* 81 combines a number of *isnāds* but follows Hushaym’s *lafẓ* (wording), according to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, but it is clear that the *matn* is abbreviated and differs greatly from other *riwāyas* from Hushaym. Similarly, *AH* 82 combines

⁴⁶ al-Tirmidhī gives two *isnāds*, one from Hilāl b. Yasāf’s bundle and the other from that of al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ, and claims their contents to be similar, without citing the full *matn* of the latter.

⁴⁷ It should be noted that one of the multiple chains of transmission noted in *AH* 81, Khalaf b. ‘Abdallāh—Wahbān b. Baqiyya, is written as Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh—Wahb b. Baqiyya. Wahb is sometimes known as Wahbān, whereas ‘Khālid’ seems to be a scribal error in place of Khalaf; see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā’ al-rijāl* (ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf; Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 35 vols., 1980–92), xxxi. (1987), 115.

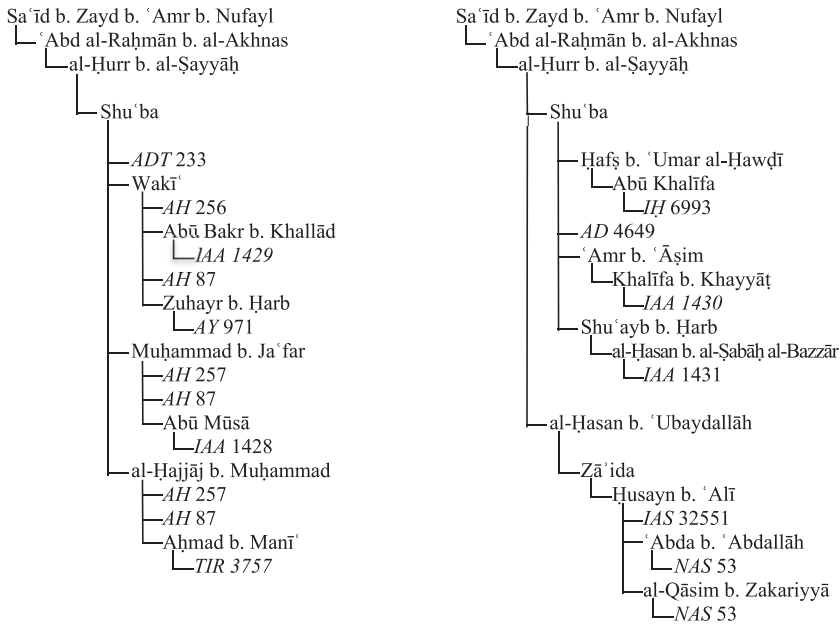


Figure 3: Al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ's bundle

two *isnāds* without specifying whose *lafẓ* is followed. That the *matn* of AH 82 in its current phrasing does not make sense indicates omission in the course of transmission.⁴⁸ The *matns* of AH 251, AH 252 and AH 253 are not cited. Thus, these will not be included in the analysis, but shown in Figure 2 to illustrate the extent to which this version of the TPP ḥadīth was disseminated. AD 4648 also combines two chains of transmission and hence is marked in the subsets of Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Manṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir in Figure 2. Its *lafẓ* should be ascribed to the former because it includes an interpolation by 'Abdallāh b. Idrīs (d. 192/808) and shares elements found in other *riwāyas* of Ḥusayn's subset. Thus, it will be discussed in Ḥusayn's subset instead of that of Manṣūr.

⁴⁸ After narrating the ḥadīth, Sa'īd b. Zayd was asked who the tenth man was. He admitted to being the tenth. Yet, the question appears unexpectedly without Sa'īd b. Zayd's testimony that the ten will be in Paradise in the *matn*. The *matn* of AH 82 goes: Sa'īd b. Zayd qāla: 'Kunnā ma'a al-nabī bi-Ḥirā' fa-qāla: "Uskun, Ḥirā'! Fa-laysa 'alayka illā nabī aw šiddīq aw shahīd." Qāla: 'Wa-man hum?' Qāla: 'Abū Bakr wa-'Umar wa-'Alī wa-'Uthmān wa-Ṭalḥa wa-l-Zubayr wa-Sa'd wa-Ibn 'Awf'. Fa-qāla: 'Fa-man al-'āshir?' Qāla: 'anā'. Ya'nī nafsahu.

1.1.1. The *riwāyas* in *Manṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir's* subset

All of the narrations in *Manṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir's* subset (AH 82, AH 83, AH 84, AH 253, AH 254, IAA 1425 and HN 5453) except for one (IAA 1426, via Abū al-Aḥwaṣ) are passed on Sufyān al-Thawrī's authority. The ḥadīth is also recorded in Sufyān al-Thawrī's *Tafsīr* (ST 475), presenting the earliest known documentation of the TPP tradition, and its *matn* is given below:

A man came to Sa'īd b. Zayd and said, 'Indeed, I loved a man among the people of Paradise'. He then said, 'I hated 'Uthmān more than anyone else'. Sa'īd b. Zayd said, 'Horrible is what you did. You hated a man among the people of Paradise'. Then, he [Sa'īd b. Zayd] started [narrating] a ḥadīth and said, 'We were with the Messenger of God on Hīrā'. **He [Sa'īd b. Zayd] then mentioned the Ten.** [Sa'īd b. Zayd continued] 'Then, he [the Prophet] said, "Be still, Hīrā', for none stands upon you but a prophet, a saint, or a martyr".'

Jā'a rajul ilā Sa'īd b. Zayd fa-qāla: 'Innī aḥbabtu rajul^{an} min ahl al-janna'. Qāla: 'Abghaḍtu 'Uthmān bughḍ^{an} lam ubghīḍhu aḥad^{an} qaṭṭu'. Qāla: 'Bi'sa mā ṣana'ta! Abghaḍta rajul^{an} min ahl al-janna'. Thumma ansha'a ḥadīth^{an} fa-qāla: 'Innā ma'a Rasūl Allāh 'alā Hīrā'. Fa-dhakara hā'ulā i al-'ashara. 'Fa-qāla: "Uthbut Hīrā' fa-innamā 'alayka nabī wa-ṣiddīq wa-shahīd"'.

The interpolation (in bold) that Sa'īd b. Zayd mentioned the ten, is rendered by Sufyān al-Thawrī or his student, Abū Hudhayfa (d. 220/835),⁴⁹ on whose authority the *Tafsīr* is transmitted.⁵⁰ In the previous comment on Qur'ānic verse 15:47—'And We shall remove from their hearts any lurking sense of injury: [they will be] brothers [joyfully] facing each other on thrones [of dignity]'⁵¹—Sufyān al-Thawrī or Abū Hudhayfa identifies the 'brothers' here as Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Sa'd b. Mālik, Sa'īd b. Zayd and 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd.⁵²

Sufyān al-Thawrī's *riwāya* consists of two components: a dialogue between Sa'īd b. Zayd and a man 'who loves 'Alī but hates 'Uthmān', and the ḥadīth featuring Hīrā'. Other narrations transmitted from Sufyān al-Thawrī from *Manṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir's* subset also share these two components to varying degrees. AH 83, AH 254 and IAA 1425 all allude to this dialogue between Sa'īd b. Zayd and the man, but the sensitive component (the dialogue including the man's strong dislike of

⁴⁹ About his relationship with Sufyān al-Thawrī, see Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqāt*, ix. 305.

⁵⁰ Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Arshī, 'Muqaddimat al-Muṣaḥḥiḥ' in Sufyān al-Thawrī, *Tafsīr Sufyān al-Thawrī*, 34.

⁵¹ The translation of Yusuf Ali.

⁵² Sufyān al-Thawrī, *Tafsīr*, 160.

‘Uthmān) was censored out, likely by transmitters following Sufyān al-Thawrī. Thus, the *matn* of AH 83 reads as follows:

A man came to Sa‘īd b. Zayd. Then, he [Sa‘īd b. Zayd] started [narrating] a ḥadīth and said, ‘We were with the Messenger of God on Ḥirā’’. Then it quaked and the Messenger of God said, ‘Be still, Ḥirā’, for none stands upon you but a prophet, a saint or a martyr’. He [Sa‘īd b. Zayd] said, ‘and upon it were the Prophet, Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Alī, ‘Uthmān, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Sa‘d b. Mālik, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, and Sa‘īd b. Zayd’.

The abrupt truncation of the dialogue in AH 83 (and presumably AH 84⁵³) and AH 254, which is nearly identical to AH 83, is conspicuous, as the man’s presence before Sa‘īd b. Zayd’s narration of the ḥadīth is left unexplained. Similarly, the dialogue of IAA 1425 is edited out clumsily, as follows:

A man came to me [Sa‘īd b. Zayd] and said, ‘Inform me about ‘Alī, whom I loved as I did not love anyone else’. I [Sa‘īd b. Zayd] said, ‘Horrible is what you did. You hated a man among the people of Paradise’. [...]

That the later transmitters felt the need to edit out part or whole of the dialogue likely indicates its archaic origin.

Another important difference between this group of narrations (AH 83, AH 84, AH 254 and IAA 1425) derived from Sufyān al-Thawrī and the *matn* in his *Tafsīr* is the omission of ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd from the list of the ten promised Paradise. Only the narrations (HN 5453) derived from Sufyān al-Thawrī’s student, Abū Ḥudhayfa, mentions ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd. However, the content of HN 5453 differs greatly from the text in Sufyān al-Thawrī’s *Tafsīr*, for it lacks two components (the dialogue and the reference to Ḥirā’) and only states that the Prophet singled out the ten Companions, including ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd and Sa‘īd b. Zayd, as residents of Paradise.

These divergences can be explained when we take into account that Sufyān al-Thawrī’s *Tafsīr* is also transmitted on Abū Ḥudhayfa’s authority. Thus, if the latter was responsible for the omission and juxtaposition in the given passages in the *Tafsīr*, then the addition of ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd appears to be a distinctive element in Abū Ḥudhayfa’s *riwāya*. This was also noted by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, who comments below the text of HN 5453 that Abū Ḥudhayfa is the sole authority to mention ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd. Thus, based on the analysis of these *riwāyas* derived from Sufyān al-Thawrī, it can be concluded that the inclusion of ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd is a distinctive element of Abū Ḥudhayfa’s *lafz*,

⁵³ The *matn* of AH 84 is not given, as it is like that of AH 83, according to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal or his son, ‘Abdallāh.

while Sufyān al-Thawrī's narration comprises two components and very likely only lists nine Companions, without 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd. It is hard to ascertain whether the two components in Sufyān al-Thawrī's *riwāyas* can be traced back to Maṣṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir, as there is only one *isnād* (IAA 1426) derived from the latter that was passed on to someone other than Sufyān al-Thawrī, that is, Abū al-Aḥwaṣ (d. 179/795–6). The first component, the dialogue, is not found in Abū al-Aḥwaṣ's *riwāya*, which has only the second component—the Prophet and the nine Companions on Ḥirā':

Sa'īd b. Zayd said: 'I bear witness that nine will be in Paradise, and, if I wished to bear witness on the tenth, I would be honest'. I ['Abdallāh b. Zālim] said: 'What is that?' He said: 'The Messenger of God was on Ḥirā', with Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Sa'd b. Mālik and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf. The Messenger of God said: "Be still, Ḥirā', for none stands upon you but a prophet, a saint or a martyr". I said: 'Who is the tenth?' He said: 'I'.

Sa'īd b. Zayd qāla: 'Ashhadu 'alā tis'a annahum fī al-janna wa-law shahidtu 'alā al-āshir la-ṣadaqtu'. Qultu: 'Wa-mā dhāka?' Qāla: 'Kāna Rasūl Allāh 'alā Ḥirā' wa-Abū Bakr wa-'Umar wa-'Uthmān wa-'Alī wa-Ṭalḥa wa-l-Zubayr wa-Sa'd b. Mālik wa-'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf. Fa-qāla Rasūl Allāh: "Uthbut Ḥirā' fa-innahu laysa 'alayka illā nabī aw ṣiddīq aw shahīd". Qultu: 'Man al-āshir?' Qāla: 'Anā'.⁵⁴

It cannot be known if Abū al-Aḥwaṣ or a transmitter after him omitted the dialogue, or if it was never part of Maṣṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir's narration. What can be concluded with certainty is that the component with the Prophet naming the nine Companions on Ḥirā', shared by both Abū al-Aḥwaṣ and Sufyān al-Thawrī, can plausibly be traced back to Maṣṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir.

1.1.2. The *riwāyas* in Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān's subset

The *riwāyas* in Ḥuṣayn's subset, with one exception (BAGH 1927), all feature the Prophetic command that Ḥirā' be still as 'none stands upon you but a prophet, a saint or a martyr', with the identification of the nine Companions: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and Sa'īd b. Zayd. Except for ADT 232, there are two narrative components found in these *riwāyas*: Sa'īd b. Zayd's testimony that ten Companions will be in Paradise and the Prophetic saying on Ḥirā'. For the purpose of illustration, the full *matn* of IAS 32546 is given here:

⁵⁴ The *matn* of IAA 1426 is nearly identical to that of IAS 32546, cited and studied in Ḥuṣayn's subset in 1.1.2.

Saʿīd b. Zayd said, ‘I bear witness that nine will be in Paradise, and, if I wished to bear witness on the tenth, I would be honest’. I [ʿAbdallāh b. Zālim] said, ‘What is that?’ He said, ‘The Messenger of God was on Ḥirāʾ’, with Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Saʿd b. Mālik and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. The Messenger of God said “Be still, Ḥirāʾ”, for none stands upon you but a prophet, a saint or a martyr”. I said, ‘Who is the tenth?’ He said, ‘I’.

Saʿīd b. Zayd qāla: ‘Ashhadu ‘alā tisʿa annahum fī al-janna wa-law shahidtu ‘alā al-ʿashir la-ṣadaqtu’. Qultu: ‘Wa-mā dhāka?’ Qāla: “Kāna Rasūl Allāh ‘alā Ḥirāʾ’ wa-Abū Bakr wa-ʿUmar wa-ʿUthmān wa-ʿAlī wa-Ṭalḥa wa-l-Zubayr wa-Saʿd b. Mālik wa-ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. Fa-qāla Rasūl Allāh: “Uthbut Ḥirāʾ’ fa-innahu laysa ‘alayka illā nabī aw šiddīq aw shahīd.” Qultu: ‘Man al-ʿashir?’ Qāla: ‘Anā’.

Another *riwāya* (AH 250) derived from Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba also includes the two components but begins with the Prophet’s statement on Ḥirāʾ before Saʿīd b. Zayd’s testimony. It should be noted that AH 250 combines two lines of transmission (Hushaym [d. 183/799] to al-Qawārīrī [d. 235/850] and Abū al-Aḥwaṣ to Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba) without specifying whose *lafẓ* is being quoted. AY 969 and TIR 3757, both from Hushaym, nearly identical, also comprise these two components and differ only insignificantly from IAS 32546 in wording. Since the narrative order of AH 250 is not found in narrations from either Abū al-Aḥwaṣ or Hushaym, it may be attributed to the transmitters after them.

The *riwāyas* derived from Shuʿba (d. 160/776?), ADT 232 and IM 134, differ in wording. The former only contains the Prophetic statement on Ḥirāʾ, without Saʿīd b. Zayd’s testimony, while the latter mentions that Saʿīd b. Zayd testified to seeing the Prophet speak the ḥadīth on Ḥirāʾ with the nine Companions, including himself, without the hesitant identification of the tenth man as himself.

Three narrations, AD 4648, AH 279 and IAA 1427, diverge from other *riwāyas* in Ḥuṣayn’s subset, for they include the context in which Saʿīd b. Zayd related the ḥadīth, in addition to the two narrative components; for example, the *matn* in IAA 1427 states the following:

When Muʿāwiya was given allegiance in Kufa, al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba appointed preachers to vilify ʿAlī. Then, Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl took my hand [ʿAbdallāh b. Zālim is the narrator] and said, ‘Don’t you see that this wrongful man ordered the anathematization of one of the Ten Promised Paradise? I bear witness that nine will be in Paradise and, if I were to testify to the tenth, I would not mind’. I said, ‘How so?’ He replied: ‘The Prophet was on Ḥirāʾ’, with Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Saʿd and ʿAbd al-

Raḥmān. Then he said “Be still, Ḥirā’, for none stands upon you but a prophet, a saint, or a martyr”.’ I said, ‘Who is the tenth?’ He said, ‘I’.⁵⁵

Lammā bū’iya li-Mu’āwiya bi-l-Kūfa aqāma al-Mughīra b. Shu’ba khubābā^{an} ya’anūn ‘Alī^{an} fa-akhadha bi-yadī Sa’īd b. Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl fa-qāla: ‘A-lā tarā ilā hādihā al-rajul al-ẓālim ya’muru bi-la’n rajul min ahl al-janna. Ashhadu ‘alā tis’a annahum fī al-janna wa-law shahidtu ‘alā al-‘āshir lam ubālī’. Qultu: ‘Fa-kayfa dhāka?’ Qāla: ‘Kāna Rasūl Allāh ‘alā Ḥirā’ wa-Abū Bakr wa-‘Umar wa-‘Uthmān wa-‘Alī wa-Talḥa wa-l-Zubayr wa-Sā’d wa-‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf fa-qāla Rasūl Allāh: “Uthbut Ḥirā’ fa-innahu laysa ‘alayka illā nabī aw šiddīq aw shahīd”.’ Qultu: ‘Fa-man al-‘āshir?’ Qāla: ‘Anā’.

AD 4648 and AH 279 mention ‘Alī being vilified, but who initiated this anathemization is not identified. The ambiguity as such, also seen in the narrations of other bundles in the compilations of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, may have been introduced by the collectors. The *lafẓ* of AD 4648, as indicated by an interpolation, pertains to the wording of ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs.

The most different *riwāya* in Ḥuṣayn’s subset is BAGH 1927, which only states that ten Qurashīs will be in Paradise and names the nine Companions besides the Prophet. It does not mention Ḥirā’, Sa’īd b. Zayd’s testimony or the context. As this is a singular case, it should be ruled out in favour of the majority of the *riwāyas* in our analysis.

However different, the narrations in Ḥuṣayn’s subset, except BAGH 1927, all contain the Prophet’s statement on Ḥirā’ with the designation of the nine Companions as either martyrs or saints, admitted to Paradise. The list of the nine Companions is the same. Thus, their shared components, the list and the reference to the Ḥirā’, can be attributed to their mutual source, Ḥuṣayn b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. In combination with the discussion of the *riwāyas* in Maṣṣūr b. al-Mu’tamir’s subset, it can be argued that the Ḥirā’ motif and the list of the nine Companions very likely originated from their source, Hilāl b. Yasāf, but it is not possible to reconstruct the exact wording he used for the ḥadīth.

1.2. *al-Hurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ’s bundle*

As shown in Figure 3, Sa’īd b. Zayd’s ḥadīth was first passed from al-Hurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ to his students, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ubaydallāh (d. 139/756–7) and Shu’ba. We will start with the latter’s subset. With one exception, all of the narrations in Shu’ba’s subset comprise three components: first,

⁵⁵ The *matn* of IAA 1427 leaves out the last part, after ‘*kāna Rasūl Allāh ‘alā Ḥirā’*’, because it is the same as that of IAA 1426. Thus, the part in bold is taken from IAA 1426.

the context in which Saʿīd b. Zayd narrated the ḥadīth—ʿAlī being vilified in public by al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba or his deputies; second, Saʿīd b. Zayd’s narration of the ḥadīth, in which the Prophet named the nine, in addition to himself, as future residents of Paradise; third, Saʿīd b. Zayd’s indication of his knowledge of the tenth man in Paradise, whether or not he identifies him. The outlier, *IAA* 1431, does not include the first part. There are variations among these narrations, but they do not significantly alter the overall meaning of the ḥadīth. For example, in the *riwāyas* derived from Wakīʿ (d. 197/812?), Saʿīd b. Zayd does not reveal the identity of the tenth man, *viz.* himself. In some narrations, the perpetrator and/or the victim of the public vilification is not identified, e.g. *AH* 87 (see the text in bold below).

The tripartite structure features in *ADT* 233, which represents the earliest documentation of the ḥadīth in Shuʿba’s subset and reads as follows:

I [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Akhnas] witnessed al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba preach and vilify ʿAlī. Then, Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl al-ʿAdawī—ʿAdī Quraysh—rose and said, ‘I bear witness that I heard the Messenger of God say “Ten in Paradise: the Messenger of God, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Saʿd b. Mālīk and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf”. May God be satisfied with them. If I wished to name the tenth, I would name him’. Then, he named him[self], saying ‘Saʿīd b. Zayd’.

Shahidtu al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba yakhṭub fa-nāla min ʿAlī fa-qāma Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl al-ʿAdawī—ʿAdī Quraysh—raḍiya Allāh ʿanhu, fa-qāla: ʿAshhad annī samīʿtu Rasūl Allāh yaqūl: “Ashara fī al-janna: Rasūl Allāh wa-Abū Bakr wa-ʿUmar wa-ʿUthmān wa-ʿAlī wa-Ṭalḥa wa-l-Zubayr wa-Saʿd b. Mālīk wa-ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf”. Raḍiya Allāh ʿanhum wa-law shīʿtu an usammiya al-ʿāshir sammaytuhu. Thumma sammāhu fa-qāla: ʿSaʿīd b. Zayd’.

The chain of transmission of *AH* 87 proceeds as follows: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal from al-Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad, Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar and Wakīʿ, who received the ḥadīth from Shuʿba, and its content also includes the three components, without, however, the identification of the victim of slander:

Al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba preached to us [the speaker is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Akhnas] and vituperated **someone**. Saʿīd b. Zayd rose up and said, ‘I heard the Messenger of God say “The Prophet will be in Paradise, Abū Bakr will be in Paradise, ʿUmar will be in Paradise, ʿUthmān will be in Paradise, ʿAlī will be in Paradise, Ṭalḥa will be in Paradise, al-Zubayr will be in Paradise, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf will be in Paradise, Saʿd will be in Paradise”. If I wished

to name the tenth, I would name him'. In Ibn Ja'far and al-Ḥajjāj's narration, it is added: then, he mentioned himself, *viz.* as the tenth.

Khatabanā al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba fa-nāla min fulān fa-qāma Sa'īd b. Zayd fa-qāla: 'Sami'tu Rasūl Allāh yaqūl: "al-Nabī fī al-janna wa-Abū Bakr fī al-janna wa-'Umar fī al-janna wa-'Uthmān fī al-janna wa-'Alī fī al-janna wa-Ṭalḥa fī al-janna wa-l-Zubayr fī al-janna wa-'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf fī al-janna wa-Sa'd fī al-janna". Wa-law shi'tu an usammiya al-'āshir'. Qāla Ibn Ja'far wa-Ḥajjāj fī ḥadīthihimā: thumma dhakara nafsahu ya'nī al-'āshir.

At the end of this ḥadīth, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal clarifies the differences in the narrations of his informants: in Waki's narration, Sa'īd b. Zayd did not identify himself as the tenth. This is corroborated by the content of AH 256 and that of AY 971, both transmitted by Waki alone without being combined with other *isnāds*.

AH 257, transmitted by al-Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad and Muḥammad b. Ja'far, seems to support the remark that Sa'īd b. Zayd's self-identification is absent from Waki's *lafẓ*, but the end of its *matn* is a bit ambiguous.⁵⁶ Another *riwāya*, IAA 1428, from Muḥammad b. Ja'far, also includes Sa'īd b. Zayd's self-identification in the end. The three *riwāyas* (AH 87, AH 256 and AH 257), very similar in turn of phrase and wording, share a mutual variant: the object of al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba's vilification is left anonymous. This variant seems to have been introduced by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal or his son, as it is not found in AY 971 or IAA 1428, both of which comprise the three components. Overall, the *riwāyas* derived from Waki, Muḥammad b. Ja'far and al-Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad are semantically akin to that of ADT 233.

IḤ 6993 and AD 4649, also consisting of the three components, are almost identical in their *matns* but differ at one point: the latter does not mention al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba as the vilifier of 'Alī. Instead, it is stated, '*dhakara fulān 'Alī^{am}*'. Although it cannot be ascertained who is responsible for this omission, it is noted that the Ḥanbalī narrations of the TPP ḥadīth tend to tone down the conflicts between the Companions, as observed in AH 87, AH 256 and AH 257.⁵⁷ In a distinctive variant found

⁵⁶ At the end of AH 257, Sa'īd b. Zayd says, '*law shi'tu an usammiya al-'āshir*'. Then, the narrator says, '*fa-dhakara mithlahu*'. This seems to be a scribal error, as '*dhakara nafsahu*' would make more sense here.

⁵⁷ Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's responses to the questions pertaining to ritual and legal matters are recorded by Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī; see Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Masā'il al-Imām Aḥmad riwāyat Abī Dāwūd Sulaymān b. al-Ash'ath al-Sijistānī* (ed. Abū Mu'adh Ṭāriq b. 'Awad Allāh b. Muḥammad; Cairo: Maktabat Ibn Taymiyya, 1999). See also Christopher Melchert, art., 'Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī', EI³.

in *Iḥ* 6993 and *AD* 4649, probably derived from Ḥafṣ b. ‘Umar al-Ḥawḍī (d. 225/840), Sa‘īd b. Zayd is asked who the tenth man was and then names himself.

The *riwāyas* of *IAA* 1430 and *IAA* 1431 present deviations from the tripartite structure characterizing the aforementioned narrations in Shu‘ba’s subset. Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim does not include the full *matn* of *IAA* 1430, which he finds identical to that of *IAA* 1428 (from Muḥammad b. Ja‘far in this same subset), but he notes its inclusion of Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ in the list of Paradisal residents. Khalīfa b. Khayyāt (d. 240/854–5) also narrates another version of the TPP ḥadīth, derived from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, which features the inclusion of Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ (see *IAAM* 232 below, in Section 1.4 and [Figure 5](#)). It is not implausible that Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim (or Khalīfa) confused the two ḥadīths. *IAA* 1431 does not include the first component, that is, the context in which Sa‘īd b. Zayd pronounces the given tradition. In all likelihood, the omission is attributable to Shu‘ayb b. Ḥarb (d. 196/811–12?) or al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabāḥ al-Bazzār (d. 249/863), the transmitters between Shu‘ba and Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim.

If the omission of the context in *IAA* 1431 and the inclusion of Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ in *IAA* 1430 derive from the informants after Shu‘ba, then it can be argued that the three components (the context in which ‘Alī was vituperated; Sa‘īd b. Zayd’s narration of the ḥadīth; the latter’s knowledge of the identity of the tenth man, whether disclosed or not) can be attributed to Shu‘ba. At the very least, it seems certain that the second and third components originate from him.

IAS 32511, from al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ubaydallāh’s subset, only contains the second and third components, and its wording is different. In the second component, the Prophet only names eight Companions, and Sa‘īd b. Zayd in the third component said, ‘*law shi’tu la-sammaytu al-tāsi’*’ (‘If I wished, I could name the ninth’). That is, the Prophet himself is not counted among the ten promised Paradise in this *riwāya*. The last *riwāya*, *NAS* 53, presents an anomaly to the traditions in al-Ḥurr’s bundle, as its *matn* is as follows:

Sa‘īd b. Zayd stated, ‘Ḥirā’ quaked and the Prophet said, “Be still, Ḥirā’! None stands upon you but a prophet, a saint or a martyr”. On it were the Messenger of God, Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ and I’.

Sa‘īd b. Zayd *qāla*: ‘*Ihtazza Ḥirā’ fa-qāla Rasūl Allāh*: “*Uthbut, Ḥirā’! Fa-laysa ‘alayka illā nabī aw-ṣiddīq aw-shahīd.*” *Wa-‘alayhi Rasūl Allāh wa-Abū Bakr wa-‘Umar wa-‘Uthmān wa-‘Alī wa-Ṭalḥa wa-l-Zubayr wa-‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf wa-Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ wa-anā.*’

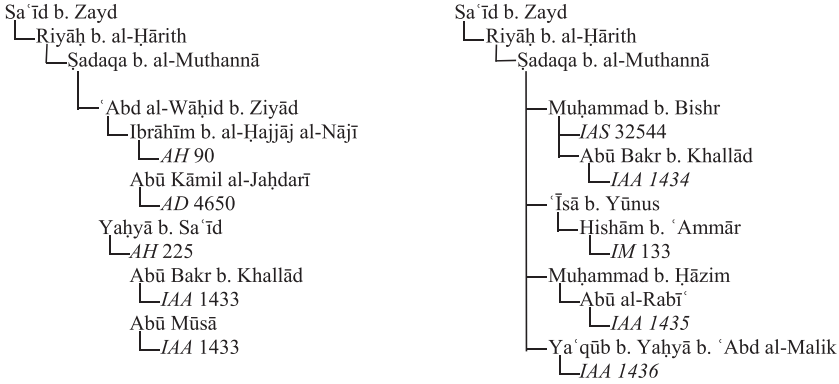


Figure 4: Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā's bundle

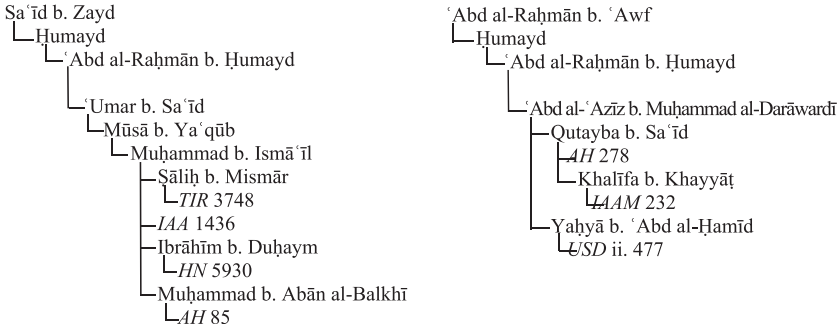


Figure 5: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd's bundle

The setting of the utterance of the ḥadīth on the top of Ḥirā' is a distinctive element of the narrations in Hilāl b. Yasāf's bundle, as discussed above. It is not implausible that al-Nasā'ī's informants, 'Abda b. 'Abdallāh (d. 258/871-2) and al-Qāsim b. Zakariyyā, erred in their transmission. Zā'ida b. Qudāma (d. 160/776-7?) and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d. 203/818-9?) are both involved in the transmission lines of Hilāl's bundle, and this may have confused al-Nasā'ī's informants. Alternatively, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī or Zā'ida b. Qudāma might have made a mistake in the narration of al-Ḥurr's ḥadīth.

To sum up, if we leave aside NAS 53 and the deviation in IAA 1430, then it is possible to trace the second and third narrative components of the ḥadīth further back to al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ, whereas the first component seems to have been a distinctive element originating from Shu'ba. It is impossible to reconstruct the exact narration of al-Ḥurr—is the

Prophet included in the list or not?—and perhaps there was no fixed narration. However, the recognition of the nine Companions can be attributed to him with certainty.

1.3. *Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā's bundle*

Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā transmitted the TPP ḥadīth from the Kufan transmitter, Riyāḥ b. al-Ḥārith,⁵⁸ to Kufan and Basran scholars, as shown in Figure 4. All the *riwāyas* in the bundle, except for *IM* 133, present an integral narrative, starting with contextual information similar to that in Shu'ba's subset in al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ's bundle. What distinguishes Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā's version of the TPP ḥadīth is Sa'īd b. Zayd's elaborate speech addressing the Kufans, which underscores his honesty and the superiority of the Companions. To give but an example, *AH* 90 reads as follows:

We [the narrator, Riyāḥ b. al-Ḥārith] were in the mosque with al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba among a multitude. Then Sa'īd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl came and al-Mughīra made room for him, saying, 'Come here!' He sat with him on the cushion and then came a young man, from Kufa, named Qays b. 'Alqama. He faced al-Mughīra and cursed over and over. Sa'īd b. Zayd said, 'To whom is this cursing?' al-Mughīra replied, 'He is cursing 'Alī'. So he said, 'Woe to you, Mughīra! Am I seeing the Companions of the Messenger of God being cursed in front of you and you do not rectify [the misconduct]? I shall not attribute to him [the Prophet] what he did not utter so that he shall ask me about it on the Day of Final Judgment. I heard him say, "Indeed, lying about me is not like lying about someone else. Whoever lies about me on purpose, let him sit in Hellfire. [The Prophet said] Abū Bakr will be in Paradise; 'Umar will be in Paradise; 'Alī will be in Paradise; 'Uthmān b. 'Affān will be in Paradise; 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and Sa'd b. Mālīk will be in Paradise; al-Zubayr will be in Paradise; Ṭalḥa will be in Paradise; and the ninth of the Muslims [will be in Paradise]". If I wished to name him, I could name him'. Then, the crowd clamoured and beseeched him, saying, 'O, Companion of the Messenger of God, inform us who the ninth of the Muslims is!' He [Sa'īd b. Zayd] said, 'Were it not that you had beseeched me, I would not have informed you. I am the ninth of the believers and the Messenger of God makes up the number ten'. Then, he said, 'By God, a man's standing or witness of the Messenger of God or a man's being in battle alongside the Messenger of God, his face smeared in dust therefrom, is more virtuous than a lifetime of worship of anyone of you'.

Kunnā fī al-masjid ma'a al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba fī unās kathīr fa-jā'a Sa'īd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl fa-awṣa'a lahu al-Mughīra wa-qāla: 'Hā hunā!'

⁵⁸ Spelt as Rabāḥ in *AH* 225 and *IAS* 32544.

Fa-jalasa ma'abu 'alā al-sarīr fa-jā'a shābb min ahl al-Kūfa yuqāl labu Qays b. 'Alqama fa-istaqbala al-Mughīra fa-sabba wa-sabba. Fa-qāla Sa'īd b. Zayd: 'Li-man yasubbu hādihā?' Fa-qāla al-Mughīra: 'Yasubbu 'Alī^{an}'. Fa-qāla: 'Wayḥaka, yā Mughīra, a-lā arā aṣḥāb Rasūl Allāh yusabbūn 'indaka thumma lā tughayyiru? Lan aqūla 'alayhi mā lam yaqul fa-yas'alunī 'anhu yawm al-qiyāma. Samī'tuhu yaqūl: "Inna kidhb^{an} 'alayya laysa ka-kidhb 'alā aḥad. Man kadhaba 'alayya muta'ammid^{an} fal-yatabawwa' maq'aduhu min al-nār. Abū Bakr fī al-janna, wa-'Umar fī al-janna, wa-'Alī fī al-janna, wa-'Uthmān b. 'Affān fī al-janna, wa-'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf wa-Sa'd b. Mālīk fī al-janna, wa-l-Zubayr fī al-janna wa-Ṭalḥa fī al-janna wa-tāsi' al-muslimīn". Law shi'tu an usammiyahu la-sammaytuhu'. Qāla fa-ḍajja al-nās wa-qālū: 'Yā ṣāḥib Rasūl Allāh, akhbirnā man tāsi' al-muslimīn?' Wa-nāshadūhu fa-qāla: 'Law lā annakum nāshadtumūnī mā akhbartukum. Anā tāsi' al-mu'minīn wa-Rasūl Allāh yatimmu al-'āshir'. Thumma qāla: 'Wa-Allāh, la-mawqif rajul aw mashhad rajul ma'a Rasūl Allāh yaghbarru fihī wajhuhu afḍal min 'ibādat aḥadikum 'umrahu'.

There are many variants of the lengthy narrative of this version of the TPP ḥadīth. For example, in AD 4650, al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba is not identified. The narrator, Riyāḥ b. al-Ḥārith, simply states that he sat in the presence of 'someone (*fulān*)'. The omission of al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba's name, also found in AD 4649 in al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ's bundle, seems to have been introduced by Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī. The curser's name, Qays b. 'Alqama, is not given in AH 225, which does not include the dialogue between Sa'īd b. Zayd and al-Mughīra that clarifies the victim of the Kufan's anathema. In the last part of the ḥadīth, where Sa'īd b. Zayd restates the superiority of the Companions, an element attached to the end of the *matn*, 'even if he were given the longevity of Noah', is found in AD 4650, AH 225, IAA 1433 and presumably IAA 1434–6.⁵⁹ Overall, the gist of these *riwāyas*, especially that of Sa'īd b. Zayd's statement, hardly changes. The only exception in this bundle is IM 133, which proceeds as follows:

Sa'īd b. Zayd says, 'The Messenger of God is the tenth of ten. He [the Prophet] said "Abū Bakr will be in Paradise; 'Umar will be in Paradise; 'Uthmān will be in Paradise; 'Alī will be in Paradise; Ṭalḥa will be in Paradise; al-Zubayr will be in Paradise; Sa'd will be in Paradise; and 'Abd al-Raḥmān will be in Paradise".' He was asked: 'Who is the ninth?' He said, 'I'.

Sa'īd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl yaqūl: 'Kāna Rasūl Allāh 'āshir 'ashara. Fa-qāla: "Abū Bakr fī al-janna, wa-'Umar fī al-janna, wa-'Uthmān fī al-janna, wa-'Alī fī al-janna, wa-Ṭalḥa fī al-janna, wa-l-Zubayr fī al-janna,

⁵⁹ Ibn Abī 'Āṣim does not give full *matns*.

wa-Sa'd fī al-janna, wa-'Abd al-Raḥmān fī al-janna".⁶⁰ *Fa-qīla labu: 'Man al-tāsi'?* *Qāla: 'Anā*'.

The contextual information (the setting where Sa'īd b. Zayd narrated the ḥadīth and where the protagonists were present) and the exhortatory motifs (Sa'īd b. Zayd's warning concerning the offensiveness of lying about the Prophet and his emphasis on the greatness of the Companions) are both absent in this *riwāya*. The abruptness of the narrative order (starting with the Prophet as the tenth) and the ellipsis (omission of the Companions' full names and Sa'īd b. Zayd's readiness to identify himself as one of the Ten) suggest that this ḥadīth was rephrased and redacted, probably by one or both of the informants before Ibn Māja—Hishām b. 'Ammār (d. 245/859) and 'Īsā b. Yūnus (d.188/803–4?). This is plausible considering their association with Greater Syria, where 'Alī's status was less recognized and the original phrasing with implicit critique of this Umayyad practice may have been less welcome.⁶⁰ As IM 133 is likely to have resulted from later editing and thus should be excluded, given the shared components in the *riwāyas* in this bundle, it seems that the mutual source, Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā, was responsible for the elaborate version of Sa'īd b. Zayd's ḥadīth.

1.4. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd's bundle

The *isnāds* of the bundle bifurcate: 'Umar b. Sa'īd and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Darāwardī (d. 187/803–4), as illustrated in Figure 5. A distinctive feature of the *riwāyas* in this bundle is the inclusion of Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ in the list of Paradisal residents. The ḥadīth in the former subset (IAA 1436, TIR 3748, HN 5930 and AH 85) all comprise two narrative components: first, the Prophetic saying that ten, including Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, will be in Paradise; second, Sa'īd b. Zayd's reference to himself by his agnomen, Abū al-A'war, as the tenth, after his audience adjured him to identify the tenth man. For example, the *matn* of TIR 3748 states the following:

Sa'īd b. Zayd informed him [Ḥumayd] among a group that the Messenger of God said, 'Ten will be in Paradise: Abū Bakr will be in Paradise, 'Umar will be in Paradise, and 'Uthmān, 'Alī, al-Zubayr, Ṭalḥa, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ and Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ'. He counted the nine and refrained from [naming] the tenth. The people said, 'We adjure you, Abū

⁶⁰ About Hishām b. 'Ammār, see Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, ix. 478. As for 'Īsā b. Yūnus, a Kufan who later settled in Thughūr, see al-'Ījlī, *Ma'rifat al-thiqāt min rijāl ahl al-'ilm wa-l-ḥadīth wa-min al-ḍu'afā' wa-l-dhikr madhbāhibihim wa-akhbārihim* (ed. 'Abd al-'Alīm 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Bastawī; Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Madanī, 2 vols., n.d.), ii. 200; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, xxiii. 62–3.

al-A‘war, [to tell us] who the tenth is!’ He said, ‘You adjured me. By God, Abū al-A‘war will be in Paradise’.

Sa‘īd b. Zayd ḥaddathahu fī nafar anna Rasūl Allāh qāla: “Ashara fī al-janna: Abū Bakr fī al-janna wa-‘Umar fī al-janna wa-‘Uthmān wa-‘Alī wa-l-Zubayr wa-Talḥa wa-‘Abd al-Raḥmān wa-Abū ‘Ubayda wa-Sa‘īd b. Abī Waqqāṣ’. Fa-‘adda al-tis‘a wa-sakata ‘an al-‘āshir. Fa-qāla al-qawm: ‘Nanshuduka, yā Abā al-A‘war, man al-‘āshir?’ Qāla: ‘Nashadtumūnī. Bi-Allāh Abū al-A‘war fī al-janna.’

The four traditions are very similar in wording, with only insignificant differences such as the order of the ten in the list and the choice of the verb ‘adjure’ (*nāshada* in *AH* 85 and *IAA* 1436; *nashada* in *TIR* 3748 and *HN* 5930).

The second component is absent from the *riwāyas* from al-Darāwardī’s subset, which is reasonable considering that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf instead of Sa‘īd b. Zayd is claimed to have been the ultimate source and narrator of the ḥadīth. Thus, *AH* 278, *IAAM* 232 and *USD* ii. 477 simply feature the Prophet listing the ten Companions, including Sa‘īd b. Zayd.

It cannot be known with certainty whether the second component—Sa‘īd b. Zayd’s self-identification—originates from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd, but in all likelihood, he circulated the list of the ten Companions. As far as *isnād-cum-matn* analysis is concerned, it is not possible to prove that the highlighting of the standing of the ten Companions goes back to his father, Ḥumayd (d. 95/713–4), the son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Awf, but both would seem to have been motivated to concoct or disseminate such a tradition to elevate the family’s status.⁶¹

1.5. Summary of the analyses

To sum up the analyses of the four bundles, the Ḥirā’ element with the elevation of the nine Companions plausibly derived from Hilāl b. Yasāf. The idea that the nine Companions would go to Paradise, as attested by Sa‘īd b. Zayd, can be attributed to al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ, while the tripartite narrative including the context in which Sa‘īd b. Zayd gave his testimony, is likely to have been introduced by Shu‘ba. We can establish that Sadaqa b. al-Muthannā was the source of the long, elaborate version of Sa‘īd b. Zayd’s ḥadīth, consisting of the following components: Sa‘īd b. Zayd’s presence in Kufa, where ‘Alī was cursed in front of al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba; his condemnation of the practice; his emphasis on his honesty in the transmission of Prophetic ḥadīth; the ḥadīth confirming the admission of the nine Companions into Paradise; and the dialogue between Sa‘īd b. Zayd and the Kufans. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd seems to have

⁶¹ On Ḥumayd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, see Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vii. 152–3.

promoted the status of these nine Companions in addition to that of Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh.

The shared element of these four bundles is the idea that the nine Companions—the first four caliphs, al-Zubayr, Ṭalḥa, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ and Sa’id b. Zayd—shall enter Paradise. If the names in the *isnāds* before the transmitters identified here as the sources of the different versions of the TPP ḥadīth can be given any credence, then arguably, the gist of this ḥadīth can be attributed back to Sa’id b. Zayd, the ultimate common source of all its versions. The inclusion of his very name among the Ten would seem to provide legitimate motivation for him to disseminate such an idea. In addition to self-interest, Sa’id b. Zayd was on friendly terms with the other listed Companions or was closely connected through marital ties. He married the sister of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who married his sister; he received a land grant from ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān; Ibn ‘Umar (d. 73/693) and Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ led the prayers at his funeral.⁶² Given Sa’id b. Zayd’s connections with the other Companions, his propagation of this idea can be conceived as a by-product of their alliances. Alternatively, it is not implausible that Sa’id b. Zayd, having lived through the civil war, propagated this concept to absolve all parties involved in the first *fitna*. However, to validate either reading requires confidence in the credibility of the upper layers of the chains of transmission between Sa’id b. Zayd and the aforementioned transmitters. This is, however, much debated and cannot be proven based on the available sources. Instead of delving into the question of whether the ḥadīth dates back to the time of the Companions, in the next section we will focus on the earliest known disseminators of these versions of the TPP ḥadīth to navigate the temporal and spatial matrices in which the idea of the ḥadīth emerged.

2. TEN PROMISED PARADISE ḤADĪTH: *FONS ET ORIGO*

The previous section’s analysis suggests that the various versions of the TPP ḥadīth most likely came into circulation in the first half of the eighth

⁶² Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb fī asmā’ al-aṣḥāb* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 2 vols., [2002] 2006), i. 369–73; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, ii. 478. Sa’id b. Zayd’s marital ties extended beyond the Quraysh: Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, iii. 354. This exogamous tendency can be observed in the marriages of many of the early Islamic elite: Majied Robinson, *Marriage in the Tribe of Muhammad: A Statistical Study of Early Arabic Genealogical Literature* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 148–78.

century, perhaps even earlier. It is also during this period that many dogmatic ḥadīth emerged.⁶³ Hilāl b. Yasāf, a Kufan transmitter, was alive around the time of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.⁶⁴ Given his death date, which is placed by al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348?) as around 91–100/709–718,⁶⁵ it can be assumed that he lived through the second civil war. The list of nine promised Paradise attributed to Hilāl b. Yasāf seems to have been the archetype for all other versions of the TPP ḥadīth, since the other versions, traced back to the later transmitters, also dwell on the notion of a Paradisal list with some elaborations, whereas later ḥadīth tend to be more composite or elaborate.⁶⁶ Thus, the narrative elements traced to al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ, another Kufan who died one generation after Hilāl b. Yasāf, in 111–120/729–738,⁶⁷ are more complex, with emphasis on Sa‘īd b. Zayd’s hesitation to identify himself as one of the Ten. The idea that a number of the Companions were promised Paradise by the Prophet was then further circulated by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd and Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā. It is not clear from whom ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd received the TPP ḥadīth, but the ‘Awfids (the descendants of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf) maintained strong matrilinear ties with Hijazi, Iraqi and Egyptian elites in the first century of Islam.⁶⁸ It is not implausible that the notion originally derived from Kufa was passed to Ḥumayd or ‘Abd al-Raḥmān through other ‘Awfids well established in Iraq, e.g. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf and his son, al-Ḥasan, both of whom were connected to the Iraqi elite through marital ties.⁶⁹ The TPP ḥadīth became more polemic and elaborate in its latest version, that of Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā, which features not only detailed

⁶³ Michael Cook, ‘The opponents of the writing of tradition in early Islam’, *Arabica*, 44/4 (1997): 437–530, at 449. It is noteworthy that a ḥadīth promoting political quietism first came into being before 700: Stijn Aerts, ‘“Pray with your leader”: a proto-Sunni quietist tradition’, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 136/1 (2016): 29–45, at 29.

⁶⁴ al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, xxx. 353; al-‘Ijlī, *Ma‘rifat al-thiqāt*, ii. 334.

⁶⁵ al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-a‘lām* (ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf; Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 17 vols., 2003), ii. 1181–2.

⁶⁶ G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance, and Authorship of Early Ḥadīth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 128.

⁶⁷ Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Thiqāt*, iv. 180; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ*, iii. 277; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, iii. 222.

⁶⁸ Asad Q. Ahmed, *The Religious Elite of the Early Islamic Ḥijāz: Five Prosopographical Case Studies* (Oxford: Prosopographica et Genealogica, 2011), 79–80.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 74–5.

contextual information but also a warning against mendacity in ḥadīth transmission. Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā was a Kufan who died around 141–150/758–767.⁷⁰ The inclusion of the *man kadhaba* motif, which began to circulate in Iraq in the second half of the eighth century,⁷¹ is another indication of the lateness of Ṣadaqa's wording. Now, let us turn to an examination of the socio-political milieu in which Hilāl b. Yasāf and others spread the TPP ḥadīth.

Kufa is clearly the historical setting of the creation or circulation of the archetype of the TPP ḥadīth. Hilāl b. Yasāf lived through Sufyānid rule until the reign of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 96–99/715–717) or ʿUmar II (r. 99–101/717–720). The Sufyānids and early Marwānids instituted systematic vilification of ʿAlī, beginning from the tenure of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba (d. 51/671), who is reported to have cursed ʿAlī on the pulpit during his governorship.⁷² The Umayyads also purged all potential rebellious elements—many proto-Shiʿis or individuals who would be recognized as members of *shīʿat ʿAlī* fell victim to this policy, such as Ḥujr b. ʿAdī in 51/671.⁷³ The tensions between the Marwānids and Kufans may have precipitated the latter's alignment with or sympathy for ʿAlī, the ideological enemy of the former. The use and quartering of a Syrian army by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714) in Iraq and his hostility towards Iraqi soldiers gave rise to numerous rebellions, above all the one led by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath (d. 84/703–4?), no doubt furthering Kufan resentment against the Umayyads.⁷⁴ Regardless of whether Hilāl b. Yasāf can be considered a member of *shīʿat ʿAlī*, it can be argued that he was in all likelihood critical of the Umayyad maltreatment of the ʿAlids and the pro-ʿAlid Kufans. Hilāl b. Yasāf provided an eyewitness account of ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād's henchmen insisting on fighting

⁷⁰ al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, xii. 146; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ*, iv. 429; al-ʿIjlī, *Maʿrifat al-thiqāt*, i. 467; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, iii. 897.

⁷¹ Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 128–9.

⁷² Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (eds. Yūsuf al-Baqāʿī and Gharīd al-Shaykh; Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī, 25 vols., 2000), xvi. 98–9. Yet, it should be noted that many followers of ʿAlī enjoyed prominent positions under Umayyad rule: Nagel, *Rechtleitung und Kalifat*, 225–6; Nebil Husayn, *Opposing the Imām: The Legacy of the Nawāṣib in Islamic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 50–1.

⁷³ al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī* (ed. ʿAbd al-Amīr Muḥannā; Beirut: Sharikat al-Aʿlamī li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 2 vols., 2010), ii. 140.

⁷⁴ Gerald R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661–750* (London: Routledge, 2nd edn., 2000), 66–70; William F. Tucker, *Mahdis and Millenarians: Shiʿite Extremists in Early Muslim Iraq* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 6.

al-Husayn b. 'Alī at Karbala, despite the latter's request to submit to the caliph's judgment.⁷⁵

It is worth mentioning that another ḥadīth which features the first three caliphs *only* being identified by the Prophet as either a saint or a martyr on Mt. Uḥud (in some narrations, Hīrā') came into circulation around the same time.⁷⁶ The majority of its *isnāds* converge on Qatāda b. Di'āma (d. 117/735–6?), a younger contemporary of Hilāl b. Yasāf and Basran scholar of ḥadīth and the Qur'ān, after whom the tradition was further transmitted by a number of Basrans.⁷⁷ Since the Uḥud ḥadīth may have been interpreted in support of the 'Uthmānī tendencies, which were strong in Basra⁷⁸—implicitly, of the Umayyad dynastic claims to rule—this further strengthens the possibility that the TPP ḥadīth was promoted and disseminated in an anti-Umayyad environment.

Yet, because of the inclusion of the Companions besides 'Alī, the archetype of the TPP ḥadīth derived from Hilāl b. Yasāf cannot be explained as a product of proto-Shi'i reaction to the Umayyad oppression. On the one hand, the TPP ḥadīth, with its promotion of the nine Companions, could have posed a challenge to the Khārijī and Murjī'i movements, which emerged after the first *fitna*.⁷⁹ On the other hand, it can be seen as polemic against the early Ghulāt tendencies (in Saba'i, Kaysānī, or other

⁷⁵ al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī: Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* (ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm; Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 2nd edn., 11 vols., 1967–69), v. 291–2.

⁷⁶ As an example, the *matn* of one of the Uḥud ḥadīth, *TIR* 3697, is cited here: 'The Messenger of God ascended Uḥud with Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān. Then, it quaked. So, the Messenger of God said: 'Be still, Uḥud, for upon you stand a prophet, a saint, and two martyrs. (*Anna Rasūl Allāh ṣa'ida Uḥud^{am} wa-Abū Bakr wa-Umar wa-'Uthmān. Fa-rajafa bihim. Fa-qāla Rasūl Allāh: 'Uthbut Uḥud. Fa-innamā 'alayka nabī wa-ṣiddīq wa-shahīdān*.)

⁷⁷ On Qatāda, see Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, ix. 228–9. The Uḥud ḥadīth was further transmitted by his students: Shu'ba in *AH* 869; Maṭar b. Ṭahmān (d. 125/742–3) in *AH* 697; and, mostly, Sa'id b. Abī 'Arūba (d. 157/773–4?) in *AY* 3196, *AY* 2910, *AY* 2964, *AY* 3171, *NAS* 32, *AD* 4651, *IAA* 1437, *IAA* 1438, *AH* 246, *AH* 697, *TIR* 3697, and al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3675, 3686; and Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān (d. 143/760–1) in *AH* 255 and *IAA* 1440. About Maṭar b. Ṭahmān, Sa'id b. Abī 'Arūba, and Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān, see respectively Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, ix. 253, 273, 251.

⁷⁸ Josef van Ess, 'Political ideas in early Islamic religious thought', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 28/2 (2001): 151–64, at 155.

⁷⁹ On the Khārijī perspective on the first four caliphs and the protagonists in the first *fitna*, see Crone, *Medieval*, 54–7. On early Murjī'i views, see Sālim ibn Dhakwān, Patricia Crone, and F. W. Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim Ibn Dhakwān* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 219–23; Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma: A Source-Critical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 27–32.

expressions) to see 'Alī or his descendants as messianic figures, although it is questionable whether such movements were accompanied by hostile views of the first two caliphs, as portrayed in heresiography.⁸⁰ That is, Hilāl b. Yasāf's ḥadīth can be considered a proto-Sunni articulation, which emerged in a segment of the Kufan population who viewed the Khārījī, proto-Shi'i/Ghulāt and Umayyad claims and historical trajectories with suspicion. Furthermore, this Kufan segment also displayed inclusive and reconciliatory leanings, which characterize what would come to be Sunni Islam, by providing ideological grounds for absolving the warring parties in the first *fitna* of disbelief and confirming their moral rectitude via Prophetic endorsement of their entry into Paradise. How consciously this concept was proposed by Hilāl b. Yasāf as a religious doctrine is debatable, since not much is known about him. Yet, a non-Shi'i and non-Khārījī Kufan group bearing grievances against the Umayyads likely involved the tribal *ashrāf*, who gradually lost their influence under the encroachment of the Marwānid caliphate. This demographical composition somewhat explains the presence of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ among the Ten; he was the founder of the Kufan garrison and he forged close connections with the southern tribes there, whose descendants also took part in Ibn al-Ash'ath's revolt.⁸¹ It is through this Kufan segment in an anti-Umayyad, anti-Ghulāt/Shi'i and anti-Khārījī milieu that the TPP ḥadīth came to be and was re-shaped and relayed by the generations after Hilāl b. Yasāf.

⁸⁰ The sources about the Ghulāt, more or less hostile towards these groups in question and compiled later, are by no means free from the projection of later 'orthodoxy'. Yet, the influx of *mawālī* derived from various late antique religious communities in Mesopotamia to Kufa and Basra brought to Islam concepts such as the denial of the death of messianic figures. While the connections of the Ghulāt with gnostic ideas may have been constructed by later Imāmīs, as Bayhom-Daou argues, early evidence indicates their profession of messianism: Tucker, *Mahdis*, 4–8; Tamima Bayhom-Daou, 'The second-century Šī'ite Gulāt: were they really gnostic?', *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, 5 (2003): 13–61. On the connections between Kaysānis and Saba'īs: Sean W. Anthony, *The Caliph and the Heretic: Ibn Saba' and the Origins of Shī'ism* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 277–90. For an example of the Ghulāt antagonism towards the first two caliphs, as claimed by heresiography: Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn wa-ikhtilāf al-muṣallīm* (ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd; Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Aṣriyya, 2 vols., 1990), i. 69–73.

⁸¹ Ahmed, *The Religious Elite*, 35–8 (the Sa'dī participation in the Iraqi politics), 47–9. It is perhaps no coincidence that Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ is also said in a ḥadīth to have refused Mu'āwiya's order to curse 'Alī; see Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 449–50; Lucas, *Constructive Critics*, 264. I owe the reference to the ḥadīth concerning Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ to one of the anonymous reviewers. It is also noteworthy that one of the single strands, IS iii.356, claims that the TPP ḥadīth was narrated by Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763–4) directly from Sa'd b. Zayd. Al-Kalbī took part in Ibn al-Ash'ath's rebellion; see Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, viii. 478–9.

It is plausible that al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ modelled his *riwāya* on that of Hilāl b. Yasāf, with the addition of Saʿīd b. Zayd's bashful disclosure of the tenth man in Paradise. Hilāl's students, Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Maṣṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir, contemporaries of Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā, may have found re-assertion of Hilāl b. Yasāf's ḥadīth relevant, since Ghulāt activities and Hāshimī revolts were still palpable in Kufa. In 119/737, the leaders of what became one of the Ghulāt groups in the heresiography, al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd and Bayān b. Samʿān, rebelled and were executed by the Iraqi governor, Khālīd al-Qasrī (d. 126/743).⁸² In 121/739, Zayd b. ʿAlī's revolt was quelled in Kufa.⁸³ This was soon followed by another Hāshimī rebellion, led by ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiya (who was associated with the Ghulāt called Janāḥiyya), which started in Kufa before moving to southern Iran in 129/746–7.⁸⁴

The importation of the TPP ḥadīth to Madina is worth a separate discussion because Hijaz differs from the Iraqi region in its demographic composition and was far less plagued by sectarian divisions. As the descendants of many of the ten promised Paradise remained in

⁸² al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vii. 128–30; al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, i. 66–7, 69–74; Tucker, *Mahdis*, 37–70. Yet, it should be pointed out that the accounts about their execution differ in detail, and the heresiography attributing gnostic ideas to them ought to be scrutinized; see n. 80; Andrew Marsham, 'Attitudes to the use of fire in executions in late antiquity and early Islam: the burning of heretics and rebels in late Umayyad Iraq' in István Kristo-Nagy and Robert Gleave (eds.), *Violence in Islamic Thought: From the Qur'an to the Mongols* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 106–27 (see 109–11).

⁸³ al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vii. 160–73, 180–91; Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil al-ṭālibiyyīn* (ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaqr; Qom: Manshūrāt al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, 1995), 124–39.

⁸⁴ al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, i. 67–8; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vii. 302–9; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 151–9; al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xii. 171–90. Teresa Bernheimer argues against Ibn Muʿāwiya's connection with the Ghulāt based on Bayhom-Daou's study (see n. 80), but it should be borne in mind that further research is needed to extend the latter's conclusion, based on Imāmī Shiʿi heresiographical works, to the heresiography as a whole: 'The Revolt of ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiya, AH 127–30: a reconsideration through the coinage', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 69/3 (2006): 381–93 (specifically, at 381 n. 2). Crone suggests that gnostic ideas (such as *tanāsukh* and *ḥulūl*) were brought into Ibn Muʿāwiya's movement after he established himself in the Jibāl and Fārs: Patricia Crone, *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 92–5. For an alternative reading of Ibn Muʿāwiya's revolt, see Majied Robinson, 'Qurashi marriage and the roots of revolt: the rebellion of ʿAbd Allah b. Muʿāwiya, 744–747' in Andrew Marsham (ed.), *The Umayyad World* (London: Routledge, 2021), 518–38.

Hijaz,⁸⁵ the TPP ḥadīth, glorifying their ancestors, likely would have been welcomed there. As mentioned, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd, being the grandson of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, had good reason to spread the TPP ḥadīth. Yet, it should be examined why the ḥadīth only began to circulate in his time and not earlier.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd likely witnessed the clashes between the Marwānid caliphate and regional elite, with the former’s governors of Madina and Makka often in conflict with the latter. Hishām b. Ismā‘īl al-Makhzūmī, the governor of Madina under ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 65–86/685–705), flogged Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib for an unspecified reason and showed animosity towards the Āl Muḥammad.⁸⁶ Al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 86–96/705–715) is reported to have been hostile to Madinans and Makkans.⁸⁷ Khubayb b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr was treated brutally and eventually killed by ‘Umar II during his governorship of Madina.⁸⁸ Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī’s construction of pilgrimage facilities in Makka to magnify Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s status was far from being appreciated by Makkans.⁸⁹ Such conflicts between the caliphs and their representatives, on the one hand, and local prominent families (above all, the Zubayrids and ‘Alids) on the other, took place against the backdrop of the land acquisition and cultivation (by means of purchase or confiscation) of the Umayyad caliphs and their relatives in Hijaz.⁹⁰ The Umayyad expansion of their land holdings was not solely driven by economic gains, considering their access to estates in Egypt, Syria and Iraq, where fertile lands and water resources were plentiful. As Madina gradually emerged as a holy city during the Marwānid period,⁹¹ property owners of the sacred space could claim social prestige conducive to their public image.⁹² More importantly, by increasing their land possession in

⁸⁵ Harry Munt, ‘Caliphal estates and properties around Medina in the Umayyad period’ in Alain Delattre, Marie Legendre, and Petra M. Sijpesteijn (eds.), *Authority and Control in the Countryside: From Antiquity to Islam in the Mediterranean and Near East (Sixth–Tenth Century)* (Leiden: Brill, 2019): 432–63, at 434.

⁸⁶ al-Ya‘qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii. 202. Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib’s dislike for the Umayyad caliphs is well expressed in his oneiric interpretation on p. 205.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 208.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 206.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 218; al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xxii. 16–17.

⁹⁰ Munt, ‘Caliphal estates and properties’, 446–7. Mu‘āwiya gave the properties of Fadak to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam as one of the anti-‘Alid measures; see al-Ya‘qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii. 132. See also Harry Munt, art. ‘Fadak’, *EI*³.

⁹¹ Harry Munt, *The Holy City of Medina: Sacred Space in Early Islamic Arabia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 103–15.

⁹² Munt, ‘Caliphal estates and properties’, 453.

and around Madina, the Umayyads *in potentia* reduced the amount of lands in the hands of the descendants of the early Islamic elite, including those of the ten promised Paradise, who could—and some did—challenge the Umayyad legitimacy. In other words, the Marwānid acquisition of Hijazi lands (with concomitant conflicts with locals) to a certain extent intimates the imposition of caliphal authority, as Munt points out:

[I]t reduced the principal base of the wealth, and hence the potential political power, of two notable families [the Zubayrids and ‘Alids] who, had they been left alone to consolidate their position as prominent Ḥijāzī landholders, could have been even more serious rivals for the caliphal office. Landholding around Umayyad-era Medina was very much connected to questions of authority and control.⁹³

However, it is important to keep in mind that the Hijaz under Marwānid rule underwent a relatively peaceful period compared with the early ‘Abbāsid caliphate. There does not seem to have been any rebellion led by a local elite after the defeat of Ibn al-Zubayr. To the contrary, the Madinan elite aligned with the Marwānids when they were under external threat, the Khārijī invasion of Hijaz in 129/747 being a case in point.⁹⁴ Abū Ḥamza, dispatched by the Yemeni Khārijī leader, ‘Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq, occupied Makka after the Umayyad governor, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. ‘Abd al-Malik, retreated to Madina.⁹⁵ The following year, Abū Ḥamza, leading an army of 400, took Madina after a bloody battle, with 700 Madinans killed.⁹⁶ The Khārijī force was put down three months later by a contingent sent by Marwān II (r. 127–132/744–750).⁹⁷ The Madinan cooperation with the caliphate is shown by their eagerness to fight Abū Ḥamza’s force after the latter offered peace and to hunt down the remaining Khārijīs after Abū Ḥamza was defeated by Marwān II’s army.⁹⁸

Given the conflicts noted above, it cannot be said that the Madinan elite supported the Marwānids because they were particularly fond of their rule. Rather, the economic prosperity of eighth-century Hijaz likely explains the lack of local unrest and the Madinans’ alacrity in fighting

⁹³ Ibid, 457.

⁹⁴ Harry Munt, ‘Caliphal imperialism and Ḥijāzī elites in the second/eighth century’, *Al-Masāq*, 28/1 (2016): 6–21.

⁹⁵ al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vii. 374–6.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 794–795, 398.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 398–400.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 395, 399.

the Khārījī force.⁹⁹ In other words, the Madinan elite had interests in political stability, for which they could tolerate, and even cooperate with, the Marwānid rulers. It is against this background that the circulation of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd’s version of the TPP ḥadīth should be understood. The alienation of the Marwānids from the Hijazi elite with their implementation of a policy of centralization, which departed from the Sufyānid *laissez-faire* approach,¹⁰⁰ prompted their endeavour to re-assert their claim to power. Yet, to maintain their economic interests, they would have found open opposition to the Marwānids undesirable. The TPP ḥadīth, by virtue of its emphasis on the prestige of the early Islamic elite, may have been an ideal tool for the Madinan notables to enhance their social standing while posing a tacit challenge to the caliphate.¹⁰¹

The imposition of Marwānid rule in Iraq from the 700s and the sectarian division of Kufa, further complicated by the Ghulāt/Hāshimī movements, may have encouraged some Kufans to take a moderate stance on the conflicts among the first Muslim generation, something that would come to align with the later Sunni *Weltanschauung*. It is in this volatile environment that the ethos of the TPP ḥadīth first appeared in Iraq. Similarly, the encroachment of the Marwānid caliphate on the political influence of the Hijazi elite, who nonetheless benefited from the economic boom in the eighth century, somewhat explains ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd’s transmission (or borrowing) of the TPP ḥadīth. The socio-political situation illuminates this advocacy for the nine or ten Companions’ special status. The next section will examine the transmitters after the sources of the various versions of the TPP ḥadīth in order to investigate why this concept was embraced and perpetuated by early *ahl al-ḥadīth*.

⁹⁹ For a detailed discussion of early Hijazi economic history, see Harry Munt, ‘Trends in the economic history of the early Islamic Ḥijāz: Medina during the second/eighth century’, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 42 (2015): 201–47.

¹⁰⁰ Hawting, *The First*, 61–5.

¹⁰¹ This perhaps explains the inclusion of Abū ‘Ubayda in the Madinan *riwāya* of the TPP ḥadīth. Unlike others among the Ten, Abū ‘Ubayda’s children died out quite early on. He is said to have been the intended successor after ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. That is, if Abū ‘Ubayda was believed to have been more qualified for the caliphal office than the third caliph, ‘Uthmān, on whose kinship the Umayyads claimed their legitimacy, then the mention of him in the ḥadīth may have been intended implicitly to undermine Umayyad legitimacy. However, much more research, especially concerning the origin of the reports about Abū ‘Ubayda’s role in early Islamic politics, is needed to develop this conjecture. See al-Balādhurī, *Jumal min Kitāb Ansāb al-ashraf* (eds. Suhayl Zakkār and Riyāḍ Ziriklī; Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 13 vols., 1996), xi. 68 (on his children), 70; Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, iii. 382.

3. TEN PROMISED PARADISE: BECOMING A SUNNI DOCTRINE

This section will look closely at the students of the transmitters identified here as the sources of the common components among the various versions of the TPP ḥadīth. The subjects, 21 in number, include the following: the two generations of the transmitters after Hilāl b. Yasāf, who was a generation before Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā, al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd; and the transmitters immediately following the last three. Analysis of the areas of their intellectual activities and their contribution to the consolidation of *ahl al-ḥadīth* as a group may offer insights into how the ideas they passed on came to permeate the community they affiliated with and shaped. These transmitters are listed in the table below, with further information or remarks given in the columns (from left to right): their source for the TPP ḥadīth; their names and relevant dates (if known); and the locales of their activities and settlement. An ‘n/a’ indicates that no further information is currently available.

Table 1: The transmitters of the TPP ḥadīth

<i>source of the TPP ḥadīth</i>	<i>names (dates)</i>	<i>locale(s)</i>
Hilāl	Manṣūr b. al-Mu‘tamir ¹⁰²	Kufa
Hilāl	Ḥuṣayn b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ¹⁰³	Kufa
Hilāl—Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ	Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj ¹⁰⁴	Basra, Kufa, and Baghdad
Hilāl—Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ	Zā‘ida b. Qudāma ¹⁰⁵	Kufa
Hilāl—Manṣūr and Ḥuṣayn	Sufyān al-Thawrī ¹⁰⁶	Kufa and elsewhere
Hilāl—Ḥuṣayn and Manṣūr	Abū al-Aḥwaṣ ¹⁰⁷	Kufa
Hilāl—Ḥuṣayn	Hushaym ¹⁰⁸	Wasit, Baghdad

continued

¹⁰² Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, viii. 456.

¹⁰³ Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Thiqāt*, vi. 210.

¹⁰⁴ G. H. A. Juynboll, art. ‘Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥadīdjādh’, *EL*²; Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, ix. 280–1.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, viii. 499.

¹⁰⁶ H. P. Raddatz, art. ‘Sufyān al-Thawrī’, *EL*².

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, viii. 500.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, ix. 315

Table 1 *continued*

<i>source of the TPP ḥadīth</i>	<i>names (dates)</i>	<i>locale(s)</i>
Hilāl—Ḥuṣayn	Jarīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (d. 188/804) ¹⁰⁹	Kufa and elsewhere
Hilāl—Ḥuṣayn	‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs ¹¹⁰	Kufa
Hilāl—Ḥuṣayn	Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna (d. 198/814) ¹¹¹	Makka
Hilāl—Ḥuṣayn	‘Alī b. ‘Āṣim (d. 201/816) ¹¹²	Wasit
Hilāl—Ḥuṣayn	Khalaf b. ‘Abdallāh	n/a
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd	‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Darāwardī ¹¹³	Madina
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd	‘Umar b. Sa‘īd b. Shurayḥ ¹¹⁴	Madina
al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ	al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ubaydallāh ¹¹⁵	Kufa
Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā	‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād (d. 177/793–4?) ¹¹⁶	Basra
Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā	‘Isā b. Yūnus ¹¹⁷	Kufa, Thughūr
Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā	Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān (d. 198/813–4) ¹¹⁸	Basra
Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā	Muḥammad b. Bishr (d. 203/818) ¹¹⁹	Kufa
Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā	Ya‘qūb b. Yahyā	n/a
Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā	Muḥammad b. Ḥāzim	n/a

Nothing is known about 3 of the 21 transmitters. More than half of the rest (10) were based in Kufa. While there were Hijazis, it is beyond doubt that the majority of the transmitters were based in Iraq (Kufa,

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, ix. 384.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, viii. 511; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām wa-akḥbār muḥaddithihā wa-dhikr quṭṭānihā al-‘ulamā’ min ghayr ablihā wa-wāridihā* (ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 17 vols., 2001), xi. 69–75.

¹¹¹ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, viii. 59–60.

¹¹² Ibid, ix. 315.

¹¹³ Ibid, vii. 602.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, vi. 110.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, viii. 468; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ*, iii. 23.

¹¹⁶ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, ix. 290.

¹¹⁷ See n. 60.

¹¹⁸ al-‘Ijlī, *Ma‘rifat al-Thiqāt*, ii. 353.

¹¹⁹ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, viii. 516.

Basra and Wasit). This evinces that the special status of the nine Companions was mainly propagated by Iraqi *ahl al-ḥadīth* and that the canonization of this idea was an Iraqi undertaking. The list of the transmitters also brings to light why this notion came to be embraced by the proto-Sunni community. Many of the transmitters came to be recognized as among the most prominent and/or major contributors to ḥadīth criticism. Some, though less impressive in their scholarly accomplishments, played an active role in the demarcation of the identity of *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā'a*. This was achieved by condemnation of sectarian groups or so-called innovators (*ahl al-bid'a*), refusing to narrate ḥadīth to and from those whom they deemed deviant, and defining 'orthodox' beliefs including 'right' attitudes towards the Companions. That is, they took part in the formulation of a proto-Sunni worldview and historical memory.

Manṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir, although treated by ḥadīth critics with suspicion because of his Shi'i tendencies,¹²⁰ is regarded as a Kufan authority and was respected by Sufyān al-Thawrī.¹²¹ Even al-Jūzjānī (d. 259/873?), hostile to Shi'i narrators,¹²² describes him as honest.¹²³ In addition to ḥadīth transmission, Manṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir was also a staunch proponent of predestination.¹²⁴ Admittedly, it is anachronistic to give too much weight to this assessment of ninth-century ḥadīth critics, given the temporal gap of almost a century. Yet, how ninth-century ḥadīth critics viewed these earlier ḥadīth transmitters is relevant precisely because it is during the course of the ninth century that the notion of the ten Companions in Paradise became ubiquitous in ḥadīth compilations and dogmatic works.¹²⁵ Thus, it is not insignificant that five of the transmitters, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, Shu'ba, al-Qaṭṭān and Hushaym, were listed by 'Alī b. al-Madīnī when he conceptualized the most important chains of transmission in the framework of *madār al-isnād* in his *al-'Ilal*.¹²⁶ Although 'Alī b. al-Madīnī was not the first to coin the term *madār*, it seems that he was the first

¹²⁰ al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, xxviii. 554.

¹²¹ Ibid, 549.

¹²² 'Abd al-'Alīm 'Abd al-Aẓīm al-Bastawī, 'Muqaddimat al-tahqīq' in al-Jūzjānī, *al-Shajara fī ahwāl al-rijāl* (ed. 'Abd al-'Alīm 'Abd al-Aẓīm al-Bastawī; Faisalabad: Ḥadīth Academy, 1990), 42–4.

¹²³ al-Jūzjānī, *al-Shajara*, 123–4.

¹²⁴ Steven C. Judd, *Religious Scholars and the Umayyads: Piety-Minded Supporters of the Marwānīd Caliphate* (London: Routledge, 2014), 88.

¹²⁵ See nn. 7–9.

¹²⁶ 'Alī b. al-Madīnī, *al-'Ilal* (ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-A'zamī; Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 2nd edn., 1980), 37–40. See also I-Wen Su, 'Alī b. al-Madīnī (161–234/778–849): a critical reconstruction of his biography and evaluation of his contribution to ḥadīth criticism', *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 33/1 (2022): 1–34.

to attempt to theorize ḥadīth transmission through such a framework, with the identification of the most eminent students of the hitherto ḥadīth authorities.¹²⁷

‘Alī b. al-Madīnī’s list also substantially overlaps with the lists of the authorities of ḥadīth criticism compiled by later ḥadīth experts, such as Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, Ibn Manda (d. 395/1005) and al-Dhahabī.¹²⁸ In other words, with the exception of Hushaym, the rest of the five transmitters found on ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī’s list were also recognized as the precursors to ḥadīth criticism, described by Ibn Abī Ḥatīm as *al-‘ulamā’ al-jahābidha al-nuqqād* (‘the leading experts of ḥadīth criticism’).¹²⁹ Among these, Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj is often credited as the founder of ḥadīth criticism.¹³⁰ His centrality to the edifice of ḥadīth study is illustrated by a comment by al-Shāfi‘ī: ‘Were it not for Shu‘ba, [reliable] ḥadīth in Iraq would not have been known’.¹³¹ The characterization of him by his student al-Qaṭṭān as the most knowledgeable man in the science of *al-rijāl* indicates that his pioneering role in the realm of ḥadīth criticism was recognized from quite early on.¹³² Al-Qaṭṭān also succeeded his teacher as an expert ḥadīth critic. Having studied with Shu‘ba for 20 years, he is eulogized by his student ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī as follows:

I have never seen anyone more knowledgeable of *al-rijāl* than Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān, nor more erudite about correct and incorrect ḥadīth (*ṣawāb al-ḥadīth wa-l-khaṭa’*) than ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī. If Yaḥyā and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān agree on leaving out the ḥadīth of a man, I shall leave his ḥadīth out. If either of them narrates a man’s ḥadīth, I shall do so.¹³³

Al-Qaṭṭān was, Ibn Ḥibbān asserts, ‘the one who laid the foundation for the rules of ḥadīth [criticism] for the people of Iraq and exerted himself in the search for the trustworthy and the abandonment of the

¹²⁷ Lucas, *Constructive Critics*, 114. His teacher, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī, was the first to use the term, according to G. H. A. Juynboll, ‘(Re)appraisal of some technical terms in ḥadīth science’, *Islamic Law and Society*, 8/3 (2001): 303–49, at 309.

¹²⁸ Lucas, *Constructive Critics*, 115; Pavel Pavlovitch, ‘The Manda family: a dynasty of Isfahani scholars’, *Arabica*, 65/5–6 (2018): 640–74, at 650–1.

¹²⁹ Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *al-Jarḥ*, i. 10.

¹³⁰ Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Thiqāt*, vi. 446. See also G. H. A. Juynboll, art. ‘Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj’, *EL*².

¹³¹ Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *al-Jarḥ*, iv. 370.

¹³² For a detailed documentation of Shu‘ba’s knowledge of *marāsīl*, *rijāl* and *‘ilal*, see Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *al-Jarḥ*, i. 129–59.

¹³³ al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, xxxi. 334, 336 (the quote).

weak (*huwa alladhī mabbada li-ahl al-ʿIrāq rasm al-ḥadīth wa-amʿana fī al-baḥṭh ʿan al-naql wa-tark al-ḍuʿafā*).¹³⁴

In addition to being disseminated by those who came to be recognized as leading ḥadīth authorities, the TPP ḥadīth was also reported by those who actively engaged in the formation of proto-Sunni identity. Maṣṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir's nephew, Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, although considered less outstanding than his uncle in ḥadīth narration, also transmitted historical reports. The eyewitness account of Hilāl b. Yasāf about al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī's encounter with ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād's army was reported via Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.¹³⁵ Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān also transmitted reports that touch upon controversial events of early Islam—the death of ʿUthmān and its aftermath, a watershed of sectarian schism.¹³⁶ According to his account, ʿUthmān came to speak to a crowd, among whom were ʿAlī, al-Zubayr, Ṭalḥa and Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. ʿUthmān called upon the first three, and, after confirming their presence, stated the following:

I beseech you by God, no god but He, to attest to the following: the Prophet said, 'Whoever buys the quarter of Banū someone (*mirbad [sic] banī fulān*), God shall forgive him'. I bought it for 20,000 or 25,000 and came to the Prophet, saying, 'O, Messenger of God, I have bought it'. He said, 'Make it part of our mosque and its reward is yours. (*ijʿalhu fī masjidinā wa-ajruhu laka*)'.¹³⁷

The three Companions verified what ʿUthmān said. Then, the narrator of the account, al-Aḥnaf b. Qays (d. 67/686-7?), states that he later asked Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿĀʾisha if he should pay allegiance to ʿAlī, should ʿUthmān be killed. They all replied in the affirmative. Thus, al-Aḥnaf b. Qays was taken aback when the trio later on summoned him to join their campaigns against ʿAlī to seek revenge for ʿUthmān and rather decided to remain neutral with a troop of 6,000 strong outside Basra.¹³⁸

This account, despite some redaction and omission (ʿUthmān is said to have reminded his audience of more than one merit of his¹³⁹), betrays a

¹³⁴ Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Thiqāt*, vii. 611. Note that the statement is attributed to Ibn Manjawayh (d. 428/1036) in al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, xxxi. 340. See also the editor's observation in n. 2. For a detailed documentation of al-Qaṭṭān's views on ḥadīth and its transmitters, see Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *al-Jarḥ*, i. 232–46.

¹³⁵ See n. 75. For his reports on Islamic conquests, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii. 496–497; iv. 41, 126.

¹³⁶ There are many other ḥadīth scholars narrating reports concerning the first *fitna*: Andersson, *Early Sunni Historiography*, 228–50.

¹³⁷ al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iv. 497.

¹³⁸ Ibid, 497–8.

¹³⁹ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil*, 827.

Sunni perspective of the event, with emphasis on ‘Uthmān’s innocence and exoneration of blame (as acknowledged by four men on the list of men promised Paradise), and on ‘Alī’s legitimacy as the leader of the Muslim community after ‘Uthmān. Ḥuṣayn’s report is also deemed as the *ahl al-ḥadīth*’s reading of the *fitna*, as al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) underscores.¹⁴⁰

Ḥuṣayn b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān is not the only transmitter of the TPP ḥadīth involved in the construction of a proto-Sunni identity and its distinctive historical memory. Zā’ida b. Qudāma, described by Ibn Sa’d as *ṣāḥib sunna wa-jamā’a*,¹⁴¹ seems to have developed a cult around adherence to the Prophetic *sunna* and the togetherness of the community in Kufa.¹⁴² He honoured Abū Bakr and ‘Umar and scrutinized ḥadīth transmitters’ theological and sectarian convictions¹⁴³—he only narrated ḥadīth to those he considered people of *sunna*.¹⁴⁴ His fellow townsman, Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, to whom al-‘Ijlī (181–261/797–875) refers as *ṣāḥib sunna wa-ittibā’*, is said to have expelled students from his home who cursed any of the Companions.¹⁴⁵ Zā’ida’s student, ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs, considered a pious Kufan ḥadīth transmitter and an adherent of *sunna* and community (*ṣāḥib sunna wa-l-jamā’a*),¹⁴⁶ relates Ibn ‘Abbās’s statement: ‘If people all agreed on the murder of ‘Uthmān, they would have been stoned like the people of Lot’.¹⁴⁷ Whether or not ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs fabricated the statement and attributed it to Ibn ‘Abbās, the message is clear: the correct belief to which the Muslim community should conform is upholding ‘Uthmān’s rectitude.

The defence of ‘Uthmān’s legitimacy and the endeavours to delineate the *sunna* of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* are shared by Kufan traditionists with Shī’i leanings.¹⁴⁸ Sufyān al-Thawrī, who was associated with Kufan

¹⁴⁰ al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iv. 497.

¹⁴¹ Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, viii. 499; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ*, iii. 613.

¹⁴² Su, ‘The early Shī’i’, 35 (esp. n. 35).

¹⁴³ al-Ājurri, *Su’ālāt Abī ‘Ubayd al-Ājurri li-l-imām Abī Dāwūd Sulaymān b. al-Ash’ath al-Sijistānī fī ma’rifat al-rijāl wa-jarḥihim wa-ta’dīlihīm* (ed. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Azhari; Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadītha li-l-Ṭibā’a wa-l-Nashr, 2010), 67.

¹⁴⁴ al-‘Ijlī, *Ma’rifat al-thiqāt*, i. 367; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a’lām al-nubalā’* (ed. Ḥassān ‘Abd al-Mannān; Beirut: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 2004), 1705.

¹⁴⁵ al-‘Ijlī, *Ma’rifat al-Thiqāt*, i. 444.

¹⁴⁶ Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, viii. 511; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, vii. 59–60. On his piety and honesty, see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, xiv. 297–9.

¹⁴⁷ Yahyā b. Ma’in notes that this statement is only narrated through ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs: Aḥmad Muḥammad Nūr Sayf, *Yahyā b. Ma’in wa-kitābuhu al-Tārīkh: dirāsa wa-tarīḥ wa-taḥqīq* (Makka: Markaz al-Baḥth al-‘Ilmī wa-Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 4 vols., 1979), ii. 295–6.

¹⁴⁸ Su, ‘The early Shī’i’, 34–9. See also I-Wen Su, ‘Compromise for the community: the early Kufan soft Shī’i traditionists and the formation of the four-Caliphs

tashayyu',¹⁴⁹ defended the Prophetic *sunna* against the Murji'ī and *ahl al-ra'y* represented by Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767).¹⁵⁰ Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd declared that the best Companions are Abū Bakr, 'Umar and then 'Alī, whom he avowed to love more than 'Uthmān, but he 'would rather fall from the sky than criticize 'Uthmān' (*la-an akhurra min al-samā' aḥabb ilayya min an atanāwala 'Uthmān bi-sū'*).¹⁵¹ Despite the *tashayyu'* which characterizes many Kufan ḥadīth scholars, Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd aligned with *ahl al-sunna* in his relentless combat against the force of the 'innovators', Ghulāt, Imāmīs and Qadarīs, whose ḥadīth he rejected.¹⁵² It is worth noting that such gravitation towards the proto-Sunni notions concerning the Companions, above all, the first four caliphs, as well as other theological views, can be observed in many Kufan ḥadīth narrators noted for their Shi'i leanings.¹⁵³ All in all, a number of the transmitters of the TPP ḥadīth, proto-Sunni or Shi'i in their tendencies, in one way or another, articulated the 'orthodoxy' and 'orthopraxy' which later define Sunni Islam.

It must be conceded that not all of the transmitters of the TPP ḥadīth were active in the *ahl al-ḥadīth* community, since 'Umar b. Sa'īd is not well known,¹⁵⁴ while others, such as al-Darāwardī and 'Alī b. 'Āṣim, were of disputed reputation.¹⁵⁵ Nevertheless, more than half of the transmitters examined here did play a salient role in shaping the proto-Sunni community. Given their centrality to the edifice of ḥadīth study and their efforts in consolidating the communal identity of *ahl al-ḥadīth*, the concepts they promoted or which were manifest in the Prophetic ḥadīth they circulated are likely to have been embraced by the community which invested them with the authority to interpret the Prophetic legacy.

thesis (*al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn*), *International Journal of West Asian Studies*, 12 (2020): 304–23.

¹⁴⁹ Su, 'The Early Shi'i', 27, n. 2. See also Judd, *Religious*, 85–6.

¹⁵⁰ Raddatz, 'Sufyān al-Thawrī'; Judd, *Religious*, 86–7; Wilferd Madelung, 'Early Sunni doctrine concerning faith as reflected in the *Kitāb al-Imān* of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/839)', *Studia Islamica*, 32 (1970): 233–54, at 239.

¹⁵¹ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, viii., 190.

¹⁵² Ibid, 186–7.

¹⁵³ See n. 148.

¹⁵⁴ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, xxi. 364–6; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Thiqāt*, vii. 175.

¹⁵⁵ On al-Darāwardī: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqāt*, vii. 602; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ*, v. 395. On 'Alī b. 'Āṣim: Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ*, vi. 198; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, xx. 506–7.

CONCLUSION

This article studies the origin of a ḥadīth that embodies a crucial Sunni tenet—nine or ten Companions are superior to the rest in terms of their virtues because the Prophet names them as future residents of Paradise. This idea, which greatly magnifies their status, influenced how ninth-century ḥadīth scholars formulated their ‘orthodoxy’ and structured their ḥadīth compilations or *rijāl* works. Despite its centrality to the Sunni worldview, no study has discussed when and how this concept appeared. The present study, through *isnād-cum-matn* analysis, examines different versions of the ḥadīth assuring these Companions of admission to Paradise, and suggests that the version derived from Hilāl b. Yasāf, where the Companions are described by the Prophet on the top of Hira’ as either martyrs or saints, in all likelihood was the earliest version of the ḥadīth, perhaps dating back to the late seventh century. The other versions were circulated by two Kufans, al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ and Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā, and one Madinan, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Humayd. Ṣadaqa b. al-Muthannā’s version, more elaborate in its composition, is the latest.

In addition to identifying the time when the TPP ḥadīth came into being or became widespread, the analysis also offers insights into the redaction (omission, addition and rephrasing) that the different *riwāyas* underwent. For example, Shu‘ba seems to have been responsible for the inclusion of the context in al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ’s bundle, while the *riwāyas* collected by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī tend to anonymize al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba and/or ‘Alī, perhaps in order to tone down the tension between the Companions or the former’s misdeed.

Having established the spatial and temporal locus of the TPP ḥadīth in Kufa in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, after the second *fitna*, this article further investigates the socio-political milieux to explain its emergence. It has argued that the Umayyad persecution of the ‘Alids and their supporters and oppressive rule of Kufa, while relevant, cannot be seen as the sole cause for Kufans advocating the privileged position of these Companions. The ḥadīth was circulated not only as a criticism of the Umayyad abuse of ‘Alī and his descendants but also as scepticism towards proto-Shi‘i (in particular, Ghulāt) and Khārījī readings of the rule of the first four caliphs and those involved in the first *fitna*. The proto-Shi‘i movements of the late Marwānid period may have led parts of Kufa’s population to treat the claims of the ‘Alids and/or their (self-proclaimed) deputies with suspicion. Such segments of Kufa, including the tribal *ashrāf*, who were disgruntled by Marwānid centralization policy, were likely to have taken a position unaffiliated with any of these menacing forces, which at the same time served as a rallying point for a

wider community. That is, the complex sectarian alignments taking place during the Marwānid suppression should be taken as the context of the emergence, dissemination and perpetuation of the TPP ḥadīth.

As for the version circulated by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd in Madina, the struggle of the Hijazi elite against the Umayyad encroachment likely prompted the descendants of the ‘Ten Promised Paradise’, also notables in their hometown, to re-assert their standing and enhance their political influence through the Prophet’s endorsement. The TPP ḥadīth may have been appropriated for that purpose without having presented a direct critique of the Marwānids, under whose rule the Madinan elites prospered.

With the contexts of various versions of the TPP ḥadīth explained, this article went on to examine how the ḥadīth came to be accepted by *ahl al-ḥadīth* and internalized in the doctrines they formulated, especially with regard to their attitude towards the Companions involved in the *shūrā* and the first *fitna*. The transmitters after the earliest disseminators of the different versions of the ḥadīth are analysed. About one-half of these transmitters either contributed to the development of ḥadīth criticism as a discipline or took an active part in the coalescence of the proto-Sunni community. Given their centrality to the identity-making of *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā’a*, it comes as no surprise that their views, or the ideas encapsulated by the ḥadīth they transmitted, eventually came to define Sunni orthodoxy.